

P'awstos Buzand's

History of the Armenians

Translated from Classical Armenian
by Robert Bedrosian

Sources of the Armenian Tradition (New York, 1985)

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37. How Hreshoghohm was sent by the Iranian king against the Armenians with 900,000 men, and how the Armenians again triumphed and raised the standard of victory.

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51. Those [lords] remaining in the land assemble in complete unanimity before their patriarch Nerses and complain to him; and how they withdrew from and abandoned their king Arshak.

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53. King Shapuh summoned the Armenian king Arshak a second time; how [Arshak] went to him and was lost for good.

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[Chapter 2.](#)

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[Chapter 3.](#)

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[Chapter 4.](#)

4. The second battle which occurred in the district of Bagrawand in the *awan* of Bagawan between the Armenian king Pap and the Iranian forces.

[Chapter 5.](#)

5. The second battle between Armenians and Iranians at Gandzak in Atrpayakan [Atrpatakan] and Urhnayr's warning and the victory which the Armenians enjoyed because of it.

[Chapter 6.](#)

6. Regarding the *mardpet* Dghak who was appointed border-guard, how he became an adviser to the Iranian king, and how he promised to betray the Armenian king; and how he was slain by King Pap.

[Chapter 7.](#)

7. Regarding the death of Arshak, king of the Armenians, how he died by his own hand at Anyush fortress in the country of Xuzhastan, and how Drastamat became the cause of his death.

[Chapter 8.](#)

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[Chapter 20.](#)

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[Chapter 22.](#)

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[Chapter 23.](#)

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24. Regarding the death of the great chief archbishop Nerses [caused by] king Pap, how and why he was killed by him.

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27-28. About the blessed Epip'an.

[Chapter 29.](#)

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[Chapter 30.](#)

30. How they mourned the patriarch Nerses, and how they longed for him.

[Chapter 31.](#)

31. How king Pap, following the death of the patriarch Nerses, destroyed out of jealousy all the canonical rules which he had established.

[Chapter 32.](#)

32. How king Pap turned from the emperor of the Byzantines and was slain by Byzantine military commanders.

[Chapter 33.](#)

33. What the Armenian princes conferred about, and how they kept silent.

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34. The enthronement of Varazdat over the country of Armenia after Pap.

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35. How the Armenian king Varazdat heeded the words of malicious and senseless men and killed Mushegh, the general of Armenia.

[Chapter 36.](#)

36. About the foolish opinions held by Mushegh's family and other folk.

[Chapter 37.](#)

37. Regarding the return of Manuel from Iranian captivity and his avenging of Mushegh, and his expulsion of king Varazdat from the country of Armenia.

[Chapter 38.](#)

38. How Mushegh, the *sparapet* of Armenia, together with the entire land gave his hand to the Iranian king, and brought Suren as the first *marzpan* and governor of the land of Armenia from the Iranian king; and how he was exalted by him with great gifts; and how, because of the duplicity of Meruzhan Arcruni, a rebellion broke out followed by war.

[Chapter 39.](#)

39. Regarding Gumand Shapuh, who was sent by the Iranian king to war against Armenia, and how he perished with his troops, [defeated] by Manuel.

[Chapter 40.](#)

40. Concerning Varaz, who was sent by the Iranian king, and who perished at Manuel's hands, just as his predecessor did.

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[Chapter 43.](#)

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Book Six

[Chapter 1.](#)

1. How the land of Armenia was divided in two, with half the Armenian people being ruled by Arshak at the order of the Byzantine emperor, and half the people being ruled by Xosrov at the order of the Iranian king. And how, after the land of Armenia was divided into two parts, they set a boundary between them; how other lands and districts were separated and their territories diminished on all sides by the two [foreign powers].

[Chapter 2.](#)

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the Armenians ruled by Xosrov; first, about the behavior of Zawen.

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4. Regarding Aspurak of Manazkert, who became head of the bishops after Shahak.
5. Concerning the bishops P'awstos and Zort'.

[Chapters 6-7.](#)

6. Concerning Arhostom, brother of bishop P'awstos.
7. About Artit', bishop of Basen.

[Chapter 8.](#)

8. Regarding bishop Yohan and his deportment, greed, stupidity, senseless words and deeds; and how, in return for wealth, he took on himself [responsibility] for the sins they had committed.

[Chapter 9.](#)

9. More about this same Yohan.

[Chapter 10.](#)

10. More about Yohan.

[Chapters 11-13.](#)

11. Regarding bishop Kirakos.
12. Concerning Zort'uaz, bishop of the district of Vanand.
13. About Tirik and Movses, bishops of the district of Basen.

[Chapters 14-15.](#)

14. About the bishop of Arsharunik'.
15. Concerning Aspurak, chief of the bishops.

[Chapter 16.](#)

16. About the blessed and virtuous Gind who in that period was head of the Armenian monks, cenobites, and solitary [religious] communities.

P'awstos Buzandac'i's

History of the Armenians

Translator's Preface

The *History of the Armenians*, attributed to P'awstos Buzand, describes episodically and in epic style, events from the military, socio-cultural, and political life of fourth century Armenia. This work is perhaps the most problematical of the Armenian sources, and one of the most tantalizing. The classical Armenian employed is rich and earthy; the style, clear and direct, perhaps reflecting the author's awareness that his work would be read aloud. Controversy surrounds almost every aspect of this *History*: the format of the extant (versus the original) text; the author's identity; and where, in what language, and when it was written. There is an extensive body of scholarly literature devoted to these and other questions. Below, briefly, we shall outline some of the major hypotheses.

The present text of P'awstos exists in four "Books" or *dprut'iwnk'*. Instead of being numbered Books I, II, III, and IV as one would expect, the first book of the extant text is titled Book III ("Beginning") and is followed by Books IV, V, and VI. The word "Ending" appears in the chapter heading of Book VI. The late fifth century historian Ghazar P'arpec'i cites a passage from the text of P'awstos which he claims was found in Book II.15; however, in our text this same passage is in Book IV.15. In other words, Ghazar's "P'awstos Book I" is now our Book III ("Beginning"). The Armenist S. Malxasyanc' speculated that this curious fact could be explained as follows: toward the end of the fifth century, after Ghazar P'arpec'i used it, the text of P'awstos Buzand was placed by an editor as the third history in a book of many histories. This would explain why the *History* opens with Book III, since the first two books were each one-book histories. Then, Malxasyanc' continued, the editor wrote in the words "Beginning" and "Ending" to inform the reader that this particular section was one complete history in the compilation. The editor's hand also is visible in the *History*'s two forwards; in tables of chapter headings arranged in lists preceding each book; in the chapter headings themselves; and in a statement at the end of Book III claiming [ii] that the work was written in the fourth century by "the great historian P'awstos Buzand". Furthermore, Malxasyanc' noted that the fifth century editor employed the first person singular while the fourth century P'awstos Buzand used the plural when referring to himself.

There are references in the text to a P'awstos of Greek nationality (III, Ending), a bishop P'awstos who ordained the future *kat'oghikos* Nerses the Great deacon (IV.3), a P'awstos who was one of a twelve-member council to assist Nerses as *kat'oghikos* (VI.5), and a P'awstos who buried Nerses (V.24). If these are all the same figure and the author, then he would have been living in the 50s and 60s of the fourth century, during the time of Nerses. Now, because of P'awstos' appellation Buzand(eay) and the fact that he is said to be of Greek nationality, some scholars have argued that P'awstos was a late fourth century Greek bishop who wrote in Greek (his *History* being translated into Armenian in the fifth century); or perhaps he was an Armenian from Byzantine-controlled Western Armenia (Buzanda); a fifth century cleric educated in the Byzantine empire; or simply P'awstos from an Armenian town called Buzanda. The question of P'awstos' identity is by no means a new one. This question was raised already in the late fifth century by Ghazar P'arpec'i, who refused to believe that any bishop P'awstos could have included certain vulgar and anti-clerical passages that he laments discovering in P'awstos' *History*. The offended Ghazar thinks that the bishop's *History* was later corrupted by an uncultured person who assumed the distinguished name of P'awstos (after the bishop

P'awstos found in the text) to increase the prestige of his compilation of stories (Ghazar P'arpec'i's *History of the Armenians*, I. 3-4). Who P'awstos was and what should be understood by Buzandey are still unsolved problems.

The question of the dating of this work is of direct concern. Certain facts seem to place the author (P'awstos) in the fifth century. First, P'awstos is familiar with the name of only one Byzantine emperor (Valens) for almost the entire span of his *History*, i.e., A.D. 319-384, when in fact during this period emperors Constantine, Constantius, Julian, Jovian, Valens, Gratian, and Theodosius the Great ruled. Since Armenia was in frequent contact with Byzantium during that time, a fourth-century writer naturally [iii] would know the emperors' names. P'awstos, living in the fifth century, had only a vague recollection of fourth century emperors and so styled them all Valens. Again, P'awstos contends that the Armenian king Arshak (350-67) ruled during the time of the Iranian *shah* Nerseh (293-302) and the Byzantine emperor Valens (364-78), when in fact these last two autocrats were not even contemporaries. Another important proof of the *History*'s fifth-century date is its source material, which includes the Armenian translation of the Bible (430's) and Koriwn's biography of Mashtoc'. Finally, in *kat'oghikos* Nerses the Great's curse of the Armenian Arsacids which appears in IV.15, Nerses seems to prophesy the end of the Arsacid kingdom.

P'awstos lacks chronology in the strict sense: he does not mention in which king's regnal year an event occurred or how long each king reigned. However, he does know the correct sequence of Armenian kings from Xosrov II Kotak (330-39) to Varazdat (374-78) and mentions each one by name. Despite numerous problems associated with the text, P'awstos' information still has the greatest value; although he lacks numerical chronology, the thematic unity on occasion substitutes for an absolute chronology. This is due to his systematic biases.

As a historian of the Mamikonean *naxarar* house, P'awstos' desire is to portray the Mamikoneans as the defenders *par excellence* of Armenia. To P'awstos, the Mamikoneans are not merely the only legitimate military defenders of the country, but also the loyal defenders of the Arsacid family, defenders of the Church, and defenders of *naxarar* rights. The contradiction which arises from the fact that P'awstos simultaneously has made the Mamikoneans defenders of kings and of the *naxarars*—two usually inimical groups—appears to have been resolved by the author by a second assumption: that the Mamikoneans are in fact the equals of the Arsacids.

P'awstos' *History* is a treasure of early Armenian literature, invaluable for historians, anthropologists and linguists, for Armenists and Iranists. The present translation, which was completed in 1981, was made from the classical Armenian text of Venice, 1933 (the fourth reprint of the Venice 1889 edition), [iv] K. Patkanean, ed., *P'awstosi Buzandac'woy Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*. For additional bibliography on P'awstos, see S. Malxasyanc' modern Armenian translation (Erevan, 1968); for more detail on P'awstos' biases, R. Bedrosian, [The Sparapetut'iwn in Armenia in the Fourth and Fifth Centuries](#), *Armenian Review* 36(1983) pp. 6-45, and [Dayeakut'iwn in Ancient Armenia](#), *Armenian Review* 37(1984) pp. 23-47. For studies of the fourth and fifth centuries see C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Georgetown, 1963) [especially part II, [States and Dynasties of Caucasia in the Formative Centuries](#), and Part V, [The Armeno-Georgian Marchlands](#)]; his article, "[Armenia and Georgia](#)," [Chapter XIV in *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. IV, The Byzantine Empire, part I, (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 593-637]; and N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (Lisbon, 1970). The transliteration employed in this translation is a modification of the Hubschmann-Meillet system.

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A Note on Pagination

The printed editions of these online texts show the page number at the top of the page. In the right margin the pagination of the Classical Armenian (*grabar*) text also is provided. We have made the following alterations for the online texts: the page number of the printed English editions (*Sources of the Armenian Tradition* series) appears in square brackets, in the text. For example [101] this text would be located on page 101, and [102] this text would be on page 102. The *grabar* pagination is as follows. This sentence corresponds to the information found on page 91 of the Classical Armenian text [g91] and what follows is on page 92. In other words, the Classical Armenian text delimiters [gnn] indicate **bottom** of page.

P'awstos Buzandac'i's

History of the Armenians

Third Book

Beginning

1.

What transpired in the land of Armenia after the preaching of the apostle Thaddeus.

[1] Others have written about all of the following: [events transpiring] from the time of the sermonizing of the Apostle Thaddeus, from the time of his martyrdom to the conclusion of the doctrine of [St.] Gregory and the latter's death, and [events transpiring] from the period of king Sanatruk the Apostle-killer until the unwilling submission of king Trdat to the [Christian] faith and the latter's death. [Other writers] have already described past events regarding the lives of good people of the past, as well as the actions of those adversaries who resisted them. In our present [work], to preserve the proper ordering of events, we too have briefly recorded [some of the same events, choosing] not to ignore them. For there [2] is a part of our history which is the beginning, and a part which is the ending. As for the middle part, that was written by others [? *Vasn zi e inch' mer patmut'iwn or arhajn e, ew inch' or verjun e. isk or mijin inch' eghew, ayn i jern ayloc' grel grec'aw.*] But so that no hiatus would be noticed in the middle of our history, to complete the contents (like a brick placed in the wall of a building) we recorded [what others had written]. As a result, [sections] are arranged in successive order [*end of grabar* [Classical Armenian text] page 17; henceforth shown as, for example, g17].

2.

The first great chief-priest, Gregory [the Illuminator] and their tombs.

Now during the reign of Trdat, son of Xosrov, [the land of Armenia] was illuminated with agreeable affection and pious faith by Gregory the great priest, son of Anak. [Gregory's] younger son Aristakes was a co-bishop with his father during the entire course of [Gregory's] doctrinal [teachings], every day of his life, until the day that Christ called him to his rest. Dwelling places and worthy tombs were prepared for them—for the great Gregory in the village called T'ordan in Daranaghik' district; and the blessed Aristakes his son, after the acknowledgement of his death, was taken from Cop'k' district and buried in the T'il *awan* in the district of Ekegheac' [3] on the property of his father Gregory.

3.

The reign of Xosrov, Trdat's son, and the chief-priest Vrt'anes, Gregory's son.

After this, Xosrov Kotak ruled [A.D. 330-339], grandson of Xosrov, and son of the brave and virtuous king Trdat [III, the Great, 303-330]. In [Xosrov's] day Gregory's senior son Vrt'anes came and became the chief priest [sitting] on the throne of his father, in place of his father and brother. During the years of their [tenure in the land of Armenia] there grew and multiplied peace and cultivation, population, health, [g18] fertility, abundance of goods, profitability, great divine worship and good, God-pleasing behavior. The blessed Vrt'anes illuminated and led [the Armenians] as had his father and his brother. Law and justice flourished in that age.

In that period Vrt'anes the archbishop went to the Taron country where the great, first, and mother church of Armenia was located. [It was here that] long ago, during the days of the great chief-priest Gregory's miracles, the altars/idols of the temples had been destroyed. Having gone [to Taron, Vrt'anes] performed there, in accordance with his constant custom, a mass of thanksgiving for the salvation provided by the [4] Lord's crucifixion, and communion in memory of the torments of our lord Jesus Christ, the son of God, Whose body and blood brought life and freedom. For it was the custom of the archbishops of Armenia [translating *episkoposapet* as "archbishop," and *k'ahanayapet* as "chief-priest"], together with the kings, grandees, *naxarars* and lay multitude, to revere the same places which previously had been the sites of the images of idols but subsequently had been sanctified in the name of divinity, becoming houses of prayer and places of pilgrimage for all. They were especially accustomed to assemble in the principal church of the place and commemorate the memory of the saints who had been there, on the seventh of the month of Sahmi (March). The same custom was adhered to even more in the great chapel of the prophet John; in the chapels of the Lord's Apostolic students and in the martyriums of heros [where] each year [people] gathered to joyously commemorate their days [designated for observing] their habits, and the brave deeds of their lives. Now on this occasion an event took place when the great chief-priest Vrt'anes was going about with a few [attendants] to perform the mass of blessing. Those people who had retained the old pagan worship of idols in secret until that time, had assembled together some 2,000 of [5] them, and planned amongst themselves to kill God's chief-priest Vrt'anes. The king's wife had encouraged them somewhat in this [g19] since the blessed [Vrt'anes] had reprimanded her for prostitute's behavior, for secret adultery. They came and surrounded the great wall of the church of Ashtishat, and while [Vrt'anes] was inside performing the service, a large number of troops on the outside wanted to shut him in and besiege him. But the arms of every man in the brigade were drawn back from their shoulders and miraculously bound there without any [material] binding. Thus tied, bound and defeated all of them (belonging to the world-devouring, world-destroying evil-doing *tohms* and *azgs* of [pagan] priests) fell to the ground speechless and unable to move from the spot. As the mob was thus bound and massed on the church portico, Vrt'anes himself emerged and inquired: "Who are you, whence do you come, where are you going, and what do you want?" Then they began to speak the truth and confessed: "We came to destroy this place and to kill you, daring to do this by order of the great queen of Armenia. But the Lord God revealed His strength and showed us that He alone is God. And now we acknowledge and believe that He alone is God. Thus we are now bound and unable even to move from the place." The venerable Vrt'anes then spoke words of doctrine and confirmed them in the faith of the one Lord Jesus Christ, saying a great deal to them. Then he offered prayers and asked God to heal and [6] release them from the invisible bonds and the incredible confinement of torments. As soon as they were freed from this they all fell before him and asked for the medicine of repentance. [Vrt'anes] stipulated a time of atonement for them. Having taught them the faith of the united holy Trinity, he then baptized some 2,000 [men], to say nothing of their women and children. Thus did he join them to the faith and released them cleansed and believers [g20].

4.

Concerning the two clans (tohms) the Manawazean and the Orduni in the land of Armenia.

In that period a great agitation arose in the land of Armenia. For two great *naxarars* and princes, holders of districts and lords of lands [*gawarhakalk' ashxarhateark'*] became each other's enemies and, with great

rancour stirred up a fight, warring with one another without justice. The prince of the Manawazean *tohm* and the *nahapet* of the Orduni *tohm* thus disturbed the great land of Armenia. They engaged each other in great warfare and many people were killed. King Xosrov and the great archbishop Vrt'anes sent the great and honorable bishop Aghbianos into their midst to speak of reconciliation and peace. The venerable Aghbianos went amongst them to correct and subdue them and make them achieve reconciliation with each other. But they dishonored him [7] and did not heed his intercession. They ridiculed the man who had been sent to them, dispatched the bishop with great insults, and took and ruined the royal *tun*. Severely enraged they promptly commenced warring with each other. With great anger and wrath the king sent against them Vach'e, son of Artawazd, *nahapet* of the Mamikonean *tohm*, from the *azg* of the *sparapetut'iwn* of Armenia, a great general with his troops, to kill and destroy those two *azgs*. The general Vach'e went and struck at those two *azgs* and did not leave a single male child alive. Then he returned to king Xosrov, the monarch of Armenia, and to the archbishop Vrt'anes. And [the king] gave to the bishop Aghbianos for the Church the *awan* and the *bun* residential village of the *nahapet* of the Manawazean, [namely] Manawazakert with all of its borders and [g21] the small district lying about them (which was in the area of the Euphrates river). They also gave the *bun* village of the Ordunis (which was named Ordoru whence came the bishop of Basen) with all of its borders. He himself was from the Basen country [Translator's note: The text is corrupt: *Ew etun zbun gewghn Ordunwoc', oroy anun er Ordoru. usti episkopos Basanu amenayn sahmanok' handerj, or ink'n isk e yerkrin Basanu*. Malxasyanc believes that the Orduni land was given to the bishop of Basen.] [8]

5.

The sons of the chief-priest Vrt'anes, the elder named Grigoris and the second Yusik.

Vrt'anes and Aristakes were sons of the great chief-priest Gregory. Aristakes, who had been a pure celibate from childhood, was first [after Gregory] to sit on the patrimonial throne of the episcopate, despite the fact that he was the younger son. Vrt'anes had been married, but was childless. For a long time he beseeched God not to deprive him of the blessing of a son, a fruit of his own who he would place in the Lord's service. In [Vrt'anes'] old age the Lord heard his prayers, his wife became pregnant and bore twin sons. [Vrt'anes] named one of them after his father Gregory, and the other, Yusik. They were raised in the presence of the king of Armenia and they took care to give them an education. Subsequently, the senior son, Grigoris, who was an attractive, virtuous individual, full of spiritual accomplishments and knowledge of God, attained the episcopate in the areas of Aghuania and Iberia [Georgia]. He did not marry, but already at the age of fifteen became bishop of the land of Iberia and Aghuania, that is to say, of the borders of the Mazk'ut'k'. Going there, he rennovated the churches with luminous orders, resembling his [grand]father Gregory in his actions.

[9] Tiran [339-350], son of king Xosrov, raised Yusik. The king's son Tiran gave his daughter in marriage to Yusik, son of Vrt'anes. His wife became pregnant after Yusik (then still a lad) entered her on the first night. In a vision [Yusik] saw as though it were reality that [his wife would bear] two lads not suitable for the Lord God's service [g22] and he regretted his marriage. He wept and beseeched God and did penance with great tribulation. It was the king who had forced him as a lad to marry. But this was also accomplished by God's will, since in the future he had to provide principal shepherds who must serve the Apostolic commands for the benefit of the land and the profit of serving the churches. But after that one evening, he did not couple with his wife again. [Later] his wife bore twins as he had foreseen in the vision; they named the first Pap and the second At'anagines.

With his boyish virtue, after coupling with his wife that one night, he did not approach her again. It was not that he regarded marriage as an evil thing, but rather, he had doubts because of the vision he had seen, [wondering] why such despicable children should issue from him. For he had not wanted [ordinary] earthly children, but such who would stand in service to the Lord God. In general [Yusik] scorned every mundane thing [10] regarding as good, not the transitory, but the sublime. He wanted to look upon divine life. He

regarded serving Christ as the only good and glorious thing, and ignored such things as the king's affection or honor and exaltation from him, or the relationship of being the king's son-in-law. He turned his back and rejected all of that, considering it foreign, loathsome and illusory. Following that first incident he was no longer tricked as a lad might be, but having received his patrimonial intellect and the wisdom of an old man, he wisely tended toward the immortal. He regarded insults [borne] for Christ preferable to the greatness of kings. He chose for himself an ascetic life and from the age of twelve he was virtuous. He resembled his fathers and followed the example of his brother [g23] Gregory. To the end of his life he bore the Christian yoke without any obstruction.

However the *tun* of the king was angered at him. While his father-in-law was dishonoring him for [ignoring his wife], his wife died, and Yusik was freed from his father-in-law. When [Yusik] was worrying about the children, the issue of his marriage, and was praying to the Lord, the Lord's angel appeared to him in a vision and said: "Yusik, [grand]son of Gregory, fear not. [11] For the Lord has heard your prayers. Behold, other children will be born from your children, and they will be illuminators of the land of Armenia [*hayastan ashxarhis*] and fountains of spiritual wisdom. The graces of God's commandments will flow from them and the Lord will grant through them much peace, and the construction and establishment of many churches, with great triumph and power. And many misguided [folk] will be turned onto the path of Truth. Through them Christ will be glorified by many tongues. They will be pillars of the churches, dispensers of the word of Life, foundations of the faith, servants of Christ, and satellites of the Holy Spirit. For where the foundation of a structure is, there the pinnacle will be found. By their cultivating hands many fruit-bearing, profitable and useful plants will be planted in the spiritual garden and be blessed by God. Those who do not want to be planted by them and be watered by the spiritual dew of knowledge, will be cursed and rejected, and their end will be in the burning fires [of Hell]. For the sake of the Lord they will frequently be subjected to the spite and envy of unworthy people. But they will remain unmoved in the faith, as a rock, and will conquer [the unworthy] with much patience. After them will reign falseness, unbridled, self-indulgent, lovers of silver [12] cheaters, untrustworthy despicable liars and slanderers, such that very few people will remain who will be able to hold firmly the covenant of the faith." When the lad Yusik heard all of [g24] this from the angel, with great consolation he thanked the Lord God Who made him worthy of such a revealed answer. And every day of his life he ceaselessly gave thanks.

6.

Vrt'anes' son Grigoris, his death and place of burial.

As regards bishop Grigoris (Vrt'anes' son and Yusik's brother), he became the *kat'olikos* of the Iberian and Aghuanian areas, occupying this office while he too was still a lad. He built and rennovated all the churches of those parts, extending to the districts of the Atrpatakan area. He preached the truth of faith in Christ and appeared miraculous and amazing before everyone with his severe, unbearable ascetical conduct, keeping fasts, with his clean life, sleepless vigils and ceaseless fervent prayers to the Lord God, for all people. With the grace of God he perfectly conducted the Apostolic course and superindendency of the blessed Church, taking care, encouraging and exhorting everyone to goodness, with day and evening fasts and prayers, inspiring everyone near and far with spiritual zeal, supplications and perfect faith. Like a heroic warrior he trained and kept himself ready for all sorts of trials and sorrows, so [13] that he be able to emerge from every battle boldly [triumphant] for the true faith of Christ.

When [Grigoris] had reformed and rennovated all the churches in those parts, he reached the camp of the Arsacid king of the Mazk'ut'k' named Sanesan. The Armenian kings and [the Mazk'ut'k'] kings were relatives, of the same *tohm*. [Grigoris] went and [g25] presented himself to the king of the Mazk'ut'k', the prince of a multitude of Honk' troops. In their presence he began preaching Christ's Gospel to them, saying: "Recognize God." At first they listened and accepted this. But subsequently they began to examine the faith of Christ and

learned from [Grigoris] that God despised looting, ravaging, killing, greed, depriving others, eating others [zayloc' kerut'iwn] and coveting other people's goods. When they learned these facts they grew angry at his words and said: "If we do not ravage, do not loot, do not take the belongings of others, how will such a huge multitude of troops as we live?" Although [Grigoris] wanted to win their hearts with a myriad of goodly words, they in no way wanted to listen, but rather said to each other: "He has come with such words to deprive us of [14] the bravery of the hunt and to destroy our lives. If we should listen to him and convert to the Christian faith, how will we live, for we will be unable to mount a horse according to the natural laws of our customs. This is the plan of the king of Armenia who has sent him to us in order to stop our pillaging expeditions from going to his land, by means of this teaching. Come, let us eliminate him, go invade Armenia, and fill up our land with booty."

The king listened to the words of his troops and changed his mind. Taking a wild horse, they bound the lad Grigoris, tied him to the horse's tail and let the horse run free across the plain which borders the great northern sea outside their camp, in the Vatneay plain. Thus did they kill the virtuous preacher of Christ, the lad Grigoris. Those who had accompanied [Grigoris] from the district of Haband, took his body and brought it to their district, Haband, on the border of Armenia, in the Aghuanian area, to the village called Amaraz. They placed him by the church which had been built by Grigoris' grandfather, the first Gregory, the great chief-priest of the country of Armenia. Every year the people of the districts of those lands assembled there and commemorated with joy the feast in honor of his bravery [g26]. [15]

7.

The war which resulted from an invasion of the brigand king of the Mazk'ut'k' into the land under the sway of the king of Armenia. How [Sanesan] perished with his troops.

In that period Sanesan, king of the Mazk'ut'k', grew unbelievably rancorously angry at his relative, Xosrov, king of Armenia. He assembled all the troops of Honk' and P'oxs, T'awaspars, Hechmataks, Izhmaxs, Gat's and Gghuars, Gugars, Shch'bs and Chghbs and Baghaschs and Egersuans [The editors recommend emending this to *Egerac'woc'* (*Suaneanc'*) p. 27 n.1], with a multitude of other rabble, a countless army of nomadic troops many of which he himself ruled. He crossed his border, the great Kur river, and came and filled up the country of the land of the Armenians. There was no counting the multitude of [his] cavalry brigades or the infantry troops armed with spears, and indeed, they themselves were unable to count their own men. But when they came to some notable spot and held a review by brigade, banner, and battalion, they ordered that each man carry a stone, bring it and place it [to make] a mound. However many stones were present would represent the number of the multitude and this would remain for the future an awesome symbol of bygone days. On intersecting points along the road they left such symbols. They came and covered the entire country of Armenia. [16] They demolished, enslaved and generally destroyed, spreading through the borders as far as the small city of Satagh, and as far as Ganjak within the borders of Atrpatakan. They went to one designated place in the Ayraratean district, where they assembled as one large army.

Xosrov, king of Armenia, eluded his kinsman [g27] Sanesan, king of the Mazk'ut'k'. Taking the aged archbishop of Armenia Vrt'anes with him, they went to the secure Darewnic' fortress in the Kovg country. There they began to fast and to beseech God to save them from such a bitter executioner. This they asked of the Lord God. But [Sanesan] held and tyrannized over the entire country for about a year. Then Vach'e (son of Artawazd) of the Mamikonean *tohm* arrived, the general of all of Greater Armenia. In that period he had gone on a long journey to the Byzantine areas. He assembled all the bravest of the *naxarars*, organized a very large brigade, and fell upon the [enemy] army at the time of the morning worship. [Sanesan's men] were encamped on the mountain called *C'lu glux* [Bull's Head]. [Vach'e] put them all to the sword, not leaving anyone alive, and returned with a multitude of captives. Then he collected the loot and descended into the plain of the Ayraratean district. He went [17] and located Sanesan, king of the Mazk'ut'k' with his main brigade [*bun gndawn*], an inestimable, countless number of troops, in the city of Vagharsapat. Vach'e took

[his] brigade and suddenly attacked the city, and the Lord betrayed it into his hands.

When [the enemy] saw that [Vach'e] had attacked them, they fled from the city on the rough road leading to Oshakan fortress thinking that the desert and rocky places would serve them as a refuge. There was an extremely fierce battle. The comrades-in-arms of the general of Armenia were:

Bagrat Bagratuni,
Mehundak and Garegin Erheshtunik'
Vahan, *nahapet* of the Amatunik' *tohm*,
and Varaz Kaminakan.

They struck and killed the troops of Alans, Mazk'ut'k', Honk' and other peoples, filling the rocky plain with the corpses of the dead. An incredible amount of blood coursed like a river, and there was no counting the dead troops. They chased the few survivors before them as far as the land of the Baghaschs, and they brought the head of the great king Sanesan to the king of Armenia [g28]. [18] But when [Xosrov] saw this, he began to weep, saying: "He was my brother, of the Arshakuni *azg*." Then the king and the great archbishop of Armenia came to the site of the battle where they viewed the corpses of those who had been slain. The country stank with the stench of the dead bodies. They ordered that irregular troops be called up from the land and that the slain be covered with rocks so that the country not be polluted from the smell of the corpse's bones. Then the country relaxed in peace for a full year. Thus was vengeance exacted for saint Grigoris from king Sanesan and from his army. None of them survived. Not a single one.

8.

The planting of forests, the wars with the Persians, and the extermination of the lordly (naxarar) House of the Bznunik'.

When the country of Armenia had been calmed for a while, Xosrov, king of Armenia ordered that gifts be given to the brave men who had labored for him and [had been willing to exchange their lives for the land of Greater Armenia in all battles of the war. To general Vach'e he gave the sources of [the] Janjanak, and Jrabashxik', and C'lu *glux* [mountain] with all of its small [19] districts. Similarly he gave very great gifts to the other *naxarars*. He ordered his general to dig up many young trees, to bring wild oak trees of the forests and plant them in the district of Ayrarat, beginning from the secure royal fortress called Garhni and extending to the plain of Mecamor to the hill called Duin which is on the north side of the great city of Artashat. Thus they planted oak trees south of the river as far as the Tiknuni palace. He called this the Tachar [Temple] forest. South of this in a reedy area they [g29] filled up the plain with another oak forest, which they named Xosrovakert. There they built royal palaces, walling and shutting in both sites, nor were the two [areas] joined by a road, The forest[s] grew tall. Then the king ordered that all kinds of game and wild beasts be gathered and placed behind the walls so that [the forests] be places for diversionary hunting and pleasure in his kingdom. General Vach'e immediately implemented what the king said.

[20] While [Xosrov] was involved with planting the forests, unexpectedly bad news reached him from Her and Zarawand district saying that the Iranian troops were preparing to come to make war against him. Then king Xosrov commanded Databe, *nahapet* of the Bznunik', to call up a larger than usual number of irregular troops from the land and with the muster of troops of the Matenik brigade, to go in advance of them and to strike at and block the enemy. Databe went before the Iranian troops with the multitude of Armenian troops. But when Databe arrived, he made a plan of unity with the princes of the Iranian troops and wanted to betray his lord, the king of Armenia, into their hands. He ordered the enemy to ambush his own troops, to have his own men put to the sword. Suddenly, in an unexpected fashion 40,000 Armenian troops were destroyed, while the other [surviving] troops fled. The criminal Databe took the Iranian troops and wanted to fall on the

king of Armenia. But the fleeing troops quickly reached the army of the king of Armenia bearing the bad news of the unbelievable destruction which had occurred, and the crime of betrayal of the impious Databe.

P'awstos Buzandac'i's

History of the Armenians

Book Three

Chapter 8. (Continued from Previous Page)

[21] Then Xosrov, king of Armenia, and Vrt'anes, the chief-priest, fell and rolled on the ground beseeching God with many entreaties and unrestrained tears [to help them]. Then [Xosrov] hurried to assemble troops, some 30,000 and came before them, [g30] together with general Vach'e and with all his senior grandee *naxarars*. The two sides encountered each other by the shore of the Sea of Bznunik' [Lake Van] in Arhest *awan* at the royal fish-reservoir located on a small river. They observed the incalculable multitude of Iranian troops which were as numerous as the stars in the sky or the sand by the seashore, and they had come with countless elephants and troops. But [the Armenians] went and attacked their army, placing their hopes in God. They struck, killed, and destroyed and did not leave a single one of them living. They seized much loot, many elephants and the entire strength of their force. The *sparapet* Vach'e and brave Vahan Amatuni arrested Databe, brought him before the great king Xosrov, and killed him by lapidation as a man who would betray his land, brigade, and the troops of his lord. [Databe's] *azg*, wife and children were located there in the stronghold of the prince of Erhshtunik', which was called the island of Aght'amar. *Sparapet* Vach'e got into a boat, crossed over to the island, and left neither male nor female alive. Thus was [22] the *azgatohm* of that *naxarardom* eliminated, and their *tun* was seized for the crown.

However after this the Iranians did not stop warring with king Xosrov. He made a law that the grandee nobility, the *naxarars*, holders of lands and lords of lands, who were ten-thousanders and thousands would have to stay near the king and circulate around with him, and that none of them should go with the royal troops. For he feared their irresolution [thinking] that they might work the same act as Databe and revolt from him. But he had confidence in the aged Vach'e, the natural *sparapet* and general of Greater Armenia and in brave Vahan Amatuni. [Xosrov] assembled the troops of all the *tuns* of the nobility together with the royal troops and entrusted the entire corps to them. And they constantly warred bravely on the borders of Iran not permitting [the Iranians] to boldly invade and ruin the country of Armenia, or [even] to glimpse it. And the king remained in peace and the land was in cultivation and peace for all the days of their lives [g31]. [23]

9.

How the bdesh Bakur rebelled against the king of Armenia, how he was killed by the Armenian troops, and how Vaghinak Siwni became bdesh in his stead.

In that period there rebelled from the king of Armenia one of his servants, the great prince of Aghjnik' who was called the *bdeashx*, [an individual] who occupied one of the four senior *gahs* ("thrones," "stations," "cushions") in the royal chamber. He extended his hand [in alliance] to the king of Iran and betrayed the royal *tun* which he himself had supported. The king of Iran sent troops to support him and [Aghjnik'] was separated from the authority of Armenia. He warred with the king of Armenia with the power of the kingdom of Iran. The war became more intense. Then the king of Armenia sent the following of his honest servants with many troops [against the enemy]:

the prince of Korduk', Jonn,
the prince of Greater Cop'k', Mar,
the prince of Shahei Cop'k', Nerseh,
the prince of Siwnik', Vaghinak,
the prince of Hashtenk', Dat,
and the prince of Basen, Manak.

They went and conquered the Iranian troops, putting them all to the sword, and killing the *bdeashx* with his brothers and sons. [24] But they brought to the king the head of Bakur the *bdeashx* and one of his newborn daughters. Since there were no other survivors of that *azg*, the king gave the girl in marriage to his favorite Vaghinak Siwnik', and also gave him the *tun* of Aghjnik' making him *bdeashx* and inheritor of [Bakur's] *tun*. The heir increased and the *bdeashx* Vaghinak remained in service to the king constantly with the land and all its might. However, a certain small son of Bakur the *bdeashx* fled and landed by Vach'e, the general of Armenia, where he was concealed and spared in his *tun*. Subsequently [the child] returned and seized his own *tun*. His name was Xesha [g32].

10.

Concerning Yakob (James) of Mcbin (Nisibis).

In that time the great bishop of Mcbin, a marvellous old man who loved to work deeds of truth (despite the fact that he was of Iranian nationality) who was named Yakob [James of Nisibis], a man chosen by God, left his city and came to the mountains of Armenia. He came to Sararad mountain which was in the borders of the Ayraratean lordship, in the district of Korduk'. He was a man full of Christ's graces and miracles were achieved by his hands. [25] He came with the desire of seeing the saving ark built by Noah and with great fervor he beseeched God [to grant this], for after the flood it had rested on this mountain. Everything that he requested the Lord granted him. Now while he was ascending over the difficult, waterless and rocky parts of the Sararatean mountain, [Yakob] and those who were with him became weary and thirsty. So Yakob kneeled on the ground and prayed to the Lord, and from the spot where he had placed his head a fountain gushed forth, and he and those with him drank. To this day that fountain is called the fountain of Yakob. Then he continued along on the same difficult mission praying to the Lord that he see what he desired without delay.

When he reached a difficult place near the summit, he became very tired and slept. And an angel of God came and spoke to him, saying: "Yakob, Yakob." And he replied: "I am here, Lord." The angel said: "The lord has accepted your entreaties and fulfilled your request. That which is beneath your head is part of the wood from the ark. I brought it for you from there. Do not climb any higher, for this is how the Lord wants it." With great joy [Yakob] arose and with great thanksgiving he worshipped the Lord. He saw the board which appeared to have been split from a large piece of wood by an axe. Taking the favored gift, [Yakob] and those with him turned back and went on their way [Translator's note: we omit the passage which follows, to the words "*shnorhk'n matakarein*" which was taken from Koriwn].

[26] When the man of God arrived bringing the wood from the saving ark of Noah (an eternal symbol of the punishment which was visited upon all species, a symbol of their fathers' deeds) the entire city and the districts surrounding it came out before [Yakob] with immeasurable incalculable joy and delight. They regarded him as an Apostle of Christ, a heavenly angel, and surrounded him, embracing and kissing his meritorious and beneficial footprints, considering him their shepherd and as a man who had spoken with God. They joyously accepted the gifts he brought as though they were favors for themselves, and to this very day that miraculous symbol is preserved by them—wood from the ark of Noah the patriarch.

After this the marvellous bishop Yakob received news from the country of Armenia. He went to the great

prince, the lord [g34] of the land, the great servant of the king of Armenia, to Manachirh Erheshtuni, whose land he entered. For he had heard that [Manachirh] was a wicked and unfeeling and crookedly unjust man who, from the wrath of the bitterness of his soul, had killed countless people. [Yakob] had come to teach and advise him so that, out of fear of the Lord, his nature would become mild [27] and he would put to one side his animalic and bestial frenzy.

But when the impious Manachirh saw that man of God, bishop Yakob, he scorned, ridiculed and derided him. And because of [Manachirh's] savage behavior, to spite [Yakob], he had 800 men (whom he had in bondage for no offense) brought before him, and ordered that they be hurled into the sea from a promontory. Having destroyed so many souls without offense, he then ordered that [Yakob] be ridiculed and chased out of his land. And he said: "Do you see how much I have exalted you for your good words? I relieved them from their bonds, and they are still swimming in the sea." Now [Yakob] departed with great sorrow and in accordance with his Lord's commandment he shook the dust from his feet upon them. [Yakob] and those with him reached the mountain of iron mines and lead mines which divided [the district of] Erheshtunik'. This was a lofty mountain named Enjak'isar from [whose summit] all the districts were visible. When they reached the base of the mountain, having gone without any food for many days, [Yakob] became extremely thirsty. He prayed to the Lord, kneeled, and laid his head upon the ground. And a fountain gushed forth from which he and those with him drank. [28] This was similar to what happened earlier on Sararat mountain, and so it was also that at the foot of Enjak'isar mountain on the shores of the Sea of Erheshtunik', this fountain has been called Yakob's fountain to the present day.

God's chief-priest Yakob ascended to the top of Enjak'isar mountain and cursed that [g35] land so that disturbances would never be absent there, since they had not listened to the Lord's words of peace. Then the blessed evangelical bishop returned to his place. Two days after his departure Manachirh's wife and seven sons died in that district. Then [Manachirh] also departed the world suffering from wicked torments. And in accordance with the word which had been spoken there was no peace in that land from that time onward.

Yakob accomplished very great miracles. He was present at the great synod of Nicea which occurred during the years of Constantine emperor of the Romans. There 380 bishops assembled to curse the sect of Arianos the Alexandrian who was from that state of Egypt. Now all the bishops were seated before Constantine. Present from Armenia was Aristakes son of the miraculous Gregory, the first *kat'oghikos* of Greater Armenia. The amazing secret affairs of the king began to be revealed to Yakob through [29] miraculous signs of the Holy Spirit. He saw that the emperor Constantine was wearing a hair-cloth underneath his purple [garments] and robe, and that an angel was protecting and serving him. The astonished bishop Yakob mentioned the matter of the angel to the other multitude of bishops assembled, but they did not believe it. But he insisted and said: "Since you know about secret things, first reveal what it is that the king is wearing underneath his robe." Standing in their midst, by means of the Holy Spirit he revealed the symbol of king Constantine's humility, his pious clerical garb. And he showed everyone that beneath the purple [robe, the emperor] was wearing a hair-cloth for the love and fervent faith of Christ. After this, the emperor Constantine saw the attendant angel, thanks to Yakob and he fell at his feet and exalted him with great honor and great gifts. And he placed [Yakob's] chair above many of the others present at the synod. Subsequently, [Yakob's] bones were granted to the city of Amida. During the time of the wars between the Byzantine kings and the Iranian king, his bones along with those of other folk of Mabin were transferred [to Amida] [g36]. [30]

11.

The great war the Iranians and the Armenians fought with each other, the fall of the great general Vach'e in that battle, the death of king Xosrov, and the translation from this world of the patriarch Vrt'anes.

After this there was an even more intense war between the Iranians and Armenians, for [the Iranians] had

massed and arrived to take the land of the country of Armenia. Then Vach'e, *sparapet* and general of Greater Armenia, assembled the *azataxumb* army of *naxararakoyt* troops. He arose and did battle with the Iranian troops and there was unbelievable destruction on both sides, including the destruction of many grandee nobles. In this battle Vach'e, the great *sparapet* of Armenia, fell and there was incredible mourning throughout the entire land, for many times the Lord had saved the Armenians through him. Archbishop Vrt'anes assembled and consoled everyone, including king Xosrov himself and all the troops who were taken with heart-rending sorrow, tearful laments, burdensome care, great sobbings and unbelievable mourning. Considering the departed and the survivors, they mourned. The great Vrt'anes comforted them, saying: "Be consoled in Christ. For those who have died died for our land, churches and God-given faith, so that our land not be enslaved or demolished, so that the churches not be polluted, that the martyrs not be dishonored, the [church] vessels not fall into [31] the hands of foul, unbelieving men, that the blessed covenant not be corrupted, that the baptized people not be taken captive or be subjected to the various obscenities of the religion of the unbelievers. Should the enemy capture our land they will implant here their impious, unbelieving, godless orders. We [g37] hope this will never happen. Our pious martyrs waged war for this and died chasing out and expelling evil from our land, so that faithlessness not enter this pious and God-loving land and that it not turn to serving the will of evil, and that many souls which are bound together with fervent, sincere love not be separated from each other. While they were still living, they labored with just labor for these things. In death, they held firmly their faithfulness and sacrificed their lives for the divine truth, churches, martyrs, the religion of the blessed covenant, orders of the faith, priestly covenant, for the countless new baptisms in Christ's name and for the army of the lord of the land. Those who did not spare their lives for all this must be exalted together with those who sacrificed themselves for Christ. So let us not mourn them but revere them worthily with the martyrs. Let us stipulate an eternal order throughout our entire land so that everyone will commemorate their good memory without fail as Christ's martyrs. We shall celebrate [32] the feast and be glad that through them God has found us agreeable and hereafter will grant us peace."

The great chief-priest Vrt'anes promulgated a law throughout the land that [the martyrs] should be remembered every year [on a specific day] and he made a canon that the people who had been slain for the salvation of the land should be remembered at the blessed altar of God during the mass after the names of the saints were recited, and that the survivors of the fallen should be cared for. For, he said, they fell in battle like Juda and Mattathias Maccabaei and their brothers. General Vach'e had a son who was a very little boy, named after his grandfather, Artawazd. They placed him on the pillow of [g38] his patrimonial *gah*, and in the presence of the king they placed his father's *patiw* on his head and put him in the *sparapetut'iwn* of his father. For [Artawazd] was the son of a very meritorious [individual], and of a very meritorious *azg*; and [furthermore] there was no other [individual] in that *azg* who was robust, since they had died in the great war. The affairs [33] of the generalship were assumed by Arshawir Kamsarakan, prince of Shirak and the district of Arsharunik', and Andovk, prince of Siwnik', since they were brothers-in-law of the *tun* of the Mamikonean *tohm*. The great archbishop Vrt'anes and the king ordered Arshawir and Andovk to raise the lad Artawazd so that he might occupy the position of his ancestors and of his father and accomplish deeds of bravery for Christ, the Lord of all, and for the brave men of his natural earthly Arsakuni lords, for their *tun* and lives; and so that throughout the entire course of his life he would look after widows and orphans and succeed to the acts of bravery of the *sparapetut'iwn* and the renowned generalship.

After this the world-building brave Xosrov, king of Greater Armenia, died. [People] assembled from all the lands and districts of Greater Armenia to mourn and weep, and they transported [Xosrov] to Ani of Daranaghik', in the district of Ekegheac', by his ancestors. Following him, the great chief priest Vrt'anes departed this world. Then the entire land of Armenia assembled and with great service, with psalms and spiritual songs, with lamps, candles, fragrant incenses, and royal wagons [*ark'unakan karhok'*], those who were left orphaned of their natural lord and their spiritual [34] *vardapet* accompanied [Vrt'anes' body] with sorrowful weeping to the village of T'ordan in Daranaghik' district. It was there, by the [tomb of the] great patriarch Gregory that they laid his holy bones to rest. After celebrating his perpetual living memory, they returned home [g39].

12.

The reign over the land of Armenia of Tiran after his father, how Yusik occupied the patriarchal throne after his father Vrt'anes, how he was slain by king Tiran for upbraiding him.

After king Xosrov passed from this world, his son Tiran [339-350] took the authority of the kingship of the lands of Greater Armenia. With him the venerable, blessed lad Yusik succeeded to the position of the patriarchs of Armenia. In accordance with custom, king Tiran assembled [the following] grandee *naxarars*:

the great *hazarapet* from the *tohm* of the *hazarapetut'iwn* of all of Greater Armenia, Vagharsh, prince of Anjit,

prince Zareh, *nahapet* of Greater Cop'k',

Varaz, prince of the land of Shahuni Cop'k',

Gnit', prince of Hashtenic' district, of the Kaminakan *tohm*,

Vorot', prince of the district of Vanand,

Shahen, prince of the Anjewac'ik' *tohm*,

Atom, prince of Goght'an,

[35] Manawaz, prince of Koghb,

Gorut', prince of the land of Jori,

Manasp of the Xorxorhunik', prince of the Maghxazunean *tun*,

the prince of the Saharhunik' *azg*,

and Aba, prince of the Gnunik'.

[Tiran] ordered all of these [lords] to go with the great *hazarapet* Vagharsh to seat the venerable Yusik in the royal wagon, take him to their borders, to the capital city of Cappadocia, Caesarea, and to have the lad Yusik attain the Apostolic throne of the patriarchs. They reached the city of the Caesareans and had Yusik, son of Vrt'anes, ordained to the *kat'oghikosate*. They seated him on the throne of the Apostle Thaddeus, on the throne of his grandfather the great Gregory. Then they returned thence with great rejoicing and arrived in the Ayrayratean land, in [g40] good health. They sent in advance to the king the two princes of the [two] Cop'k's, to bring the glad tidings.

When the king himself heard about this, he and the entire multitude of the army went before [Yusik] through the plain to the other side of the river [over] Tap'er bridge. After giving [36] each other the desired greeting, they crossed the Tap'er bridge and entered the great city of Artashat, went to the church, and seated the amiable lad Yusik on the patriarchal throne. As his father Vrt'anes, he inherited the Apostolic [throne], and he, the son, became like his father in his qualities. In everything he showed himself to possess angelic conduct, and implemented everything with God-given grace. He shepherded Christ's rational flock and counseled according to the message of the Gospel. Though he was but a lad, he was robust and tall, was extremely handsome and attractive, to the point that he had no equal throughout the country. With a soul clean and radiant he did not occupy himself at all with mundane things. Rather, he was like a brave warrior of Christ, like a champion hero who, from his boyhood onward scorned and threatened the invisible enemy with victory. He never showed partiality or bias toward anyone, but rather bore the message of the Holy Spirit like a sword fixed to his waist. The grace-giving Spirit filled him with knowledge with which, like a fountain, he irrigated the ears and souls of all listeners of the country.

However king Tiran, the other grandee noble *naxarars*, and the entire land did not behave according to the wishes of God, or act wisely. Especially the king and the princes wrought indiscriminate [37] killings, shedding the blood of innocent people in vain and carrying out many other sinful things. They paid no

attention to the heavenly commandments, despite the fact that [Yusik] ceaselessly advised and reminded them of God's wishes. For this reason the venerable patriarch Yusik continually reprimanded [g41] them with experienced words, with modesty, according to Christ's counsel, and to their faces he reprimanded, reproached, and blamed, telling of [God's] anger and the eternal torments of the inextinguishable fires of judgement, and he protested. Although in years he was but a lad, in wisdom he displayed the seniority of old age, and with great bravery he implemented advisory work and the work of patrimonial virtue. From his youth onward he had [his] patrimonial wisdom, the dignity of honorable old age, and reflected happy genius as a fragrant flower. For the sake of truth, he battled until death, first, to save himself, and then, he wanted to accomplish the same for the souls of others. He had such piety toward the Lord that he cared nothing for the king's affection or majesty. He was full of the knowledge of God and skill in reading Scripture. He threatened and chastised, and prevented the king and the grandees from entering Church.

With words of priestly authority [Yusik] threatened and reproached them for impiety, adultery, homosexuality, the shedding [38] of blood, dispossession, ravishment, hatred of the poor and numerous other sins such as these. He himself, out of awe of the severe commandments of the Lord, regarded as enemies those who perpetually transgressed the orders of Christ and broke the holy word of God. Throughout the entire course of his life he waged a war of reproach against everyone. On one of the annual feast days, king Tiran and others of the nobility came to enter Church. But [Yusik] cried out, saying: "You are unworthy. Why have you come? Do not come inside!" Therefore they dragged him into the church, and clubbed and crushed God's [g42] chief-priest, the blessed venerable lad Yusik. After beating him, they left him there, half-dead. Officials of the court church took him from the royal Bnabegh fortress in the district of Greater Cop'k' to the village of T'ordan in Daranaghik' district. There, not many days later, he died and was laid to rest near Gregory and his fathers. [39]

13.

How the country of Armenia remained without a patriarch after the death of Yusik, and how Yusik's sons were unworthy of their father's [patriarchal] throne.

Some time after the venerable Yusik was beaten to death, the country of the land of the T'orgomean language was leaderless, and was like a blind person, groping. They were given the soul of erring: eyes which do not see, ears which do not hear and hearts which do not understand and do not turn to atonement. Benighted, they reached the abyss of destruction, having cut their own road, they were ruined and fell, and there was no one to be shamed by their acts and sins of frenzy, since they remained without a leader. They boldly travelled the road of ruin, and by their own will fell into sin, by their will they became the sons of anger, and without God they travelled about the land of the crooked *azg* of the *tun* of the country of Armenia. They resembled that flock of sheep which made its own protecting and guarding dogs depart, and by its own will was betrayed to the enemy wolves, becoming their food, just like the great city of Athens.

In that time [people] took their wicked example from the king and started to behave like him, and to do as he did. For long since, when they accepted Christianity, they [g43] took that faith by obligation, as though it were a human error, and not [40] in fervent faith. [They accepted the faith] not knowledgeably with hope and faith, as is necessary. Only a few who were to some extent familiar with Greek or Syriac education partially understood that [faith]. But those who were devoid of literacy, namely the people—the motley multitude of *naxarars* and *shinakans*—even if teachers sat day and night and drenched them with learning like clouds pouring down heavy rain, none of them would have been able to understand or remember a single word, half a word, or any bit of what they had heard. For their minds were occupied with useless, vain matters, like little boys prepossessed with their childish toys, and they took no notice of useful or important things. Similarly, [the Armenians] with their weak minds were attached to undirected learning, to the old pagan customs, since they possessed rough, barbaric intellects. They loved their songs, legends, epic-tales, and were enthusiastic

about learning them, and believed in them, and persevered in them. Toward each other they manifested spite and envy, hostility, grudges. They nibbled at each other, and a man would betray his comrade and his brother. Lovers tried to scandalize their loved ones, relations their relatives, families their families, members of the same *azg* other members, and in-laws, their inlaws.

P'awstos Buzandac'i's

History of the Armenians

Book Three

Chapter 13. (Continued from Previous Page)

[41] Then one could have seen a man, thirsting for the blood of a comrade, drinking it, how [people] competed to harm each other, possessing crooked behavior and stupid minds. And, like [committing] adultery, during the night they performed the worship of the deities of old. And some even personally performed the lust of foul adultery. They did not heed intelligent advice, nor did they submit to commandments of God preached by leaders; rather, because of such reproachful words, [leaders] [g44] were hated, persecuted and killed. Regarding them, it was as the prophetic expression said, that: "They hate the reprimanders at the gates." Thus did [the Armenians] scorn the blessed words. For the preaching of the divine word did not give them knowledge of the true faith as it did to other peoples, to the believers and wise men, who thankfully accepted and enjoyed the grace of God's humanity. Rather, like the Jews, with their blinded and benighted minds, they were lame [in seeking] the truth. Perhaps the warning words of the prophet applied to this people also, that: "The foolish, stupid sons, show wisdom in working evil, but are completely incapable of doing good." Or: "The harsh-faced, hard-hearted, severe sons and their fathers have grieved me." Thus, they too were abandoned since they did not [42] understand and they did not believe in the invisibility of God as revealed through visible words. They could not differentiate the Creator from the created, the regulator, the protector. He increased His visible miracles such that human nature was raised from the forms of animals, and He became the cause of their salvation.

During the period of this despicable and foolish reign, during the reign of king Tiran the acts of wickedness that were committed surpassed those of all previous ages. Most of all was the fact that they beat to death the principal and leader [Yusik], and then did as they pleased. Thereafter there was no one from whose reproach they would draw back, who would prevent them from going on the road of impiety. Rather, their Lord quit them, and they pursued their hearts' desires, for there was neither leader nor head of the priesthood. However they were indeed interested [in finding a new *kat'oghikos*] not for the sake of Truth, a shepherd, leader, or head of the flock, but they sought someone who would keep them company and conduct matters in accordance with their wishes. [g45]

[43] In that period the king, the princes, and indeed the entire land consulted to see whom they could find worthy of [the *kat'oghikosate*]; for the two remaining twin sons [of Yusik], Pap and At'anagines were recognized as petulant and undisciplined. They lacked the learning of divine Scripture, and had no training in virtue. They did not resemble their fathers or their progenitor Yusik. They did not seek to be virtuous like Gregory the great, nor did they think about their spiritual honor, the honor of eternal life. Rather, they resembled [the people] of their own age, and, boasting of their earthly noble pedigree they chose the military life. As a result, they were not chosen and were rejected because of their arrogance, in accordance with the previous vision of their father, and they did not attach themselves to the yoke of piety. However, there were no other offspring from the *tun* of Gregory—these were the only ones, and because of their behavior, they were unworthy of their fathers. There was no one to perform [the role of] leadership of the chief-priest's superintendency, or commander of the Church. [44]

The life and deeds of that man of God, the great Daniel, how he upbraided king Tiran, and how he was murdered by him.

During this time a marvelous man, the aged great suffragan bishop, the blessed Daniel, was still living. He was a student of the great Gregory [and was] superintendent and head of the churches of the state of Taron, holding the office of great [g46] justiciary of Gregory's own principality. [He was also] superintendent, commanding overseer, and trustee of all the churches of Greater Armenia everywhere. In foreign places in the Iranian areas [Daniel] also preached and turned many [souls] from error.

By nationality, he was Syrian. He held the principal [episcopal] throne in Taron [where] the first and greatest, the mother of all churches of Armenia was located, namely, [he held] the first and principal place of honor. For it was there [in Taron] that the first blessed church was built and [the first] altar in the name of the Lord was raised. [Also in Taron], to the south of [the church] were located the chapel of John [the Baptist] and near the church, the Repository of the Apostles. [45] Because of the primacy of these sites, by canon they were honored by the patriarchs and kings, just as the church in T'ordan in the district of Daranaghik' was revered for [containing] the tombs of the patriarch Gregory and Aristakes. Similarly, reverence was paid to the memory of king Trdat who, willingly or unwillingly, became worthy of being the first [Armenian king] acquainted with the faith in Christ. Consequently, the land wanted to revere the sites where the fathers and bishops of former times were laid to rest. The land liked to revere their king Trdat, the first to accept Christ as well as the first bishop and laborer Gregory, and in the Ayraratean district, Christ's proto-martyrs, Gayiane and Hrip'sime and their colleagues. So too, even more so, the first church [was revered].

These places were entrusted to [Daniel] together with the districts they were located in. He was loyal to that principal altar, the authority of the patriarchal throne, and the firm covenant of the cathedral church. [Daniel] had received ordination from the hands of Gregory the great at the time when he [g47] destroyed the idols of the temples of Heracles, that is, Vahagn, in the place called Ashtishat, where the foundations of the blessed [46] church were first laid.

He was a marvelous man who worked very great miracles in the name of our Lord, Jesus Christ. He could walk on the water of a river wearing his shoes, without getting them wet. During the winter when great dense masses of snow were heaped upon the mountains, if he wanted to cross such mountains to travel somewhere, suddenly the snow would disappear before him. If he wanted to go some distance, like a flash of lightning, he was there in an instant, as if he had flown. He raised the dead and healed the sick, and accomplished other very great miracles which it is impossible to describe in writing. He dwelled in the uninhabited mountains, but did not ignore the needs of people. He wore a single garment of fur and a pair of sandals; he ate the roots of vegetables, and did not even use a cane. His power with God was such that whatever he requested, he received, and whatever he spoke of came about. When he descended to the *shens* [cultivated places] from the uninhabited places, the areas of his direction became principal churches, for the work of God. [He came] frequently to the source of the fountain below the lofty site of the temple of Heracles, which was opposite the great mountain called C'ul, a stone's throw below where the idol was, in the [47] small valley abounding in ash-trees, called *Hac'eac'n draxt*. This was the stream in which in the past the great Gregory had baptized a multitude of troops. It was here that the blessed Daniel had his cell, dug into the ground. And it was [g48] here that he held his supervisory visit(s).

Now the grandee *naxarars* assembled in one place, held a meeting, and took counsel. They convinced the king to call the aged Daniel to their *banak* so that they might make him their principal leader and seat him on the patriarchal throne. They sent [the following individuals] to him:

Omn, prince of the Saharunik' *tohm* [zOmn *ishxann*: "a certain prince"],
Artawan, prince of Vanand,

Karen, prince of the Amatunik' *tohm*,
and Varaz, prince of the Dimak'sen *tohm*.

These *naxarars* came and found [Daniel] in the district of Ekeleac', in the village of the church, at T'il, for he was still doing service to God. They took and brought [Daniel] to king Tiran [48] in Baraej *awan*, Aghjnik' district. As soon as the great suffragan bishop Daniel came before king Tiran, he started to upbraid and reproach him.

He came forward and started to speak, saying: "Why have you forgotten your creator, God, and the mercy, miracles, and counsel which he he showed your fathers and you? You have returned to [the customs of] your ancestors: to the error of idol-worship, hatred, greed, dispossession, despoilation of the poor, adultery, treachery, dispossessing and killing each other. Forsaken, you have fallen and strayed from the path of righteousness; you have abandoned your benefactor, God, Who raised you from nothing and established you. In your error you have alienated Him. While you carelessly gave yourselves over to ruination, He came to seek you. Although He is the only-begotten Son of God, nonetheless He came, He descended to acquaint His creations with His Father. Although they did not listen to Him and tortured Him to death, He endured it and never hid His [g49] power from anyone, so that He might become the cause of life for everyone. Those whom He found worthy, and ready for His resurrection, He chose, taught and dispatched as preachers and summoners and inviters, to invite you to the light of salvation.

[49] But in place of His kindness you showed ingratitude. First you killed those preacher(s), Apostle(s) and messenger(s) who came to you with the intention of inviting you to the kingdom of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the grace of salvation. You became communicants with the plot of the Lord-slaying Jewish people, in your stupidity. For they, in their opinion, killed the Lord; while your fathers [killed] His Apostles and later they tormented those resembling them, for the same thing. After this, many of God's blessed witnesses came, the co-ascetics of those same Apostles. They were subjected to the danger of torments, but endured to to the point of death to show you the Truth, so that perhaps through them you would become intelligent and recognize the Son of God. But you worked your wicked will and your customary murder toward them as well. Despite this [God], through their blood, counseled you with many miracles and in His great mercy did not subject you to death. He made you His relatives and communicants of His natural living doctrine, correct laws, and the greatness of His beloved Son.

After this He forgave you all your transgressions and made His dear ones your teachers. But you did not remember one of them, [50] you did not remember or keep [them] in your hearts. Rather, like the Jewish people you withdrew, and began to work the same sorts of deeds as they. Although you should have recalled the kindnesses of your Lord, Christ, Who forgot the sins of your fathers and your impious acts, [you did not]. You should have remembered the labor and effort of your blessed fathers, your conselors and *vardapets* who taught you, constantly working for [g50] the salvation of your souls. You should have had love for those people who labored to teach you the word [of God], and gave you rebirth and labored to return you from faithlessness. To atone for the evils of their comrades, with their entreaties again did they labor to impress Christ within you, to make you deserving of entering the Kingdom. You should have cared for their sons and students who, according to their spiritual words, were their sons through divine birth, your teachers and overseers [in leading you] to the Lord. [You should have cared for those] who even were their physical sons and were in no way less in spiritual work than their fathers.

"But you abandoned God and repeated the evils of your fathers, surpassing the sins of your fathers. Just as [your fathers] wickedly killed the blessed fathers, not wanting to hear their beneficial advice, so did you kill their sons and [51] heirs, their colleagues and those resembling them, who did not agree to your sinful deeds, [such as you killed] the blessed lad Yusik, your patriarch, holder of the throne and diocese of the Apostle Thaddeus and Gregory, who resembled him. You followed the example and conduct of the Jews with their killings and dispossessions. Just as they, being unadvised, destroyed their apostles and prophets, so did you [kill] yours.

"Now, as a result of so much of your falseness and obscenities, the Lord will take your kingdom and priesthood from you. You will be dispersed and divided. Like Israel, your borders will be dissolved, and you will be lordless, uncared for, and not one of you will be spared. You will become sheep without a shepherd, and like a flock you will be betrayed to the wild beasts. You will fall from your glory, be betrayed into slavery to foreign enemies, will fall under the yoke of servitude, and that yoke will not be lifted from you. The yoke of wicked slavish servitude will not be removed from your necks. You will be worn out in your desires. Just as Israel was torn and not repaired, so will you be dispersed and destroyed. Others will enjoy your labors, and others will consume your strength. None will be found to save you. The Lord will not be satisfied with [52] you, will not look upon you, and will save you no more.

"Why did you summon me to come to you? Was it that you wanted to hear this from me? Even if I did not relate all this to you, nonetheless all of it will befall you because you killed that righteous lad, the great Yusik, your virtuous leader who was of the *tun* of the son of Gregory. Yes, all this will be visited upon you, for the Lord showed it to me thus. But you sent to me, summoning me to come to be your head and leader. How could I be the leader of people who do not follow the Lord; how could I be the head of an *azg* which the Lord has abandoned? How could I raise my hands to God in prayer for people whose hands are stained with the blood of the Lord's saints? How could I offer entreating prayers for people who have turned their backs, not their faces, to the Lord? How could I intercede for people who have rebelled? How could I speak of reconciliation for those who have fled and do not want to return, for whom the Lord himself has prepared all of these evils because you said that you do not see the Lord?" And he said more in this vein.

The blessed aged suffragan bishop Daniel said these things before king Tiran, the princes, *pets*, and all the troops. While [53] he was speaking the king listened in stupified amazement. When [g52] he had heard all of it, he became inflamed with wrath, in the bitterness of his impious rage. He ordered that [Daniel] be strangled then and there. The attendants implemented this order as soon as they heard it. Although the grandee *naxarar* nobility greatly exhorted the king not to carry out the wickedness of his will, nonetheless [Tiran's] soul was so bitter with rage, he was so furious, that he did not heed them. Placing a rope around [Daniel's] throat, [the attendants] strangled him. Thus was the blessed Daniel slain.

A multitude of people who recognized and knew him took his body and wanted to exhalt it [placing it] with the bones of the blessed witnesses of Christ. But [Daniel] himself appeared to his blessed student named Epip'an [saying] not to honor his bones with the others, but [that they should] take [his body] to a place which he himself commanded and cover it with soil. [Daniel] himself said: "If the Lord's body was kept in the tomb for two days until on the third day [Christ] rose to His Father, how much more necessary is it for us, earthlings, to be covered with the soil?" [Daniel's] blessed body was taken by his dear students. Chief among them was Shaghita, who had been designated [54] by [Daniel] as *vardapet* of the land of Korduk'. The second [student burying Daniel] was Epip'an who had been designated *vardapet* of the district of Aghjnik' and Greater Cop'k'. With them went clerics of the *banak*. They went and took the body to the place where [Daniel's] cell had been, in the Taron country (where the mother church of Armenia was located), to the place called Hac'eac' *draxt* near the fountain where Gregory had baptized the *ashxarhazor* multitude. It was there that they committed the body of the blessed Daniel to the ground, in accordance with his command given in the vision. [g53]

15.

The sons of Yusik, and how they trampled [the dignity of] the great chief-priest of God.

They then decided to place the sons of the blessed Yusik in the *vardapetal* priesthood of their fathers. Against their will they forcibly seized them on the wishes of the bishops. They were involuntarily obliged to accept ordination as deacons, both Pap and At'anagines. They cast the spiritual dignity to the ground, dressing in

military style, and were destroyed. They chose the life of this world, taking as wives the king's sisters, and were rejected from the inheritance of God. The wife of Pap was named Varazduxt. [This couple] died without bearing sons. At'anagines' wife was named Bambish. [This couple] [55] bore the marvelous and wonderful man Nerses, who subsequently became the chief-priest.

But in that period there [still] was no one to direct the chief-priesthood for them. So they took counsel [to decide] who they could find to be their leader. They all resolved that [such an individual] should be selected from the same *tun* of the authority of Gregory, and that he should hold the throne of [his] fathers. [g54]

16.

How P'arhen occupied the patriarchal throne.

At that time they considered worthy [of the *kat'oghikosate*] a certain presbyter named P'arhen from the district of Taron, from the great chapel of John [the Baptist], [a man] who had earlier constructed the house of prayer and supplication as a repository for the saints. They entrusted [the position] to him. They summoned [P'arhen] to visit the king. The king selected [the following] illustrious princes:

the great general of Armenia, named Vasak from the Mamikonean *tohm*,
Mehendak Erheshtuni,
[56] Andovk Siwnik',
Arshawir Kamsarakan,
great and principal *nahapets*,
and ten other honorable men.

He sent them with gifts and *hrovartaks* to fetch and accompany the blessed P'arhen to the capital city of Cappadocia, Caesarea, where they ordained him to the *kat'oghikosate* of Greater Armenia. And they returned thence to their own land in peace.

P'arhen occupied the patriarchal throne for a short while. Although he did not dare to advise or reprimand anyone's error or impiety, he nonetheless kept his own person holy. He was obliged to befriend the impious king, submitted to him, and acted according to his wishes. After this he was gathered to his fathers. Clerics of the *banak's* church took his body and committed his bones in an attractive tomb which they constructed on the *agarak* of the great chapel of John in the district of Taron, a place where P'arhen had lived during his lifetime. [g55] [57]

17.

Shahak, son of bishop Aghbianos, who succeeded on the patriarchal throne, and how the country of Armenia abandoned the Lord and His Commandments.

Then at that time [the people] unitedly held counsel in a popular assembly (*ashxarhoren xorhurd*) to decide to whom they should give the *kat'oghikosate* of the patriarchate. But since there was no one worthy of it from the *tun* of Gregory, they designated a certain Shahak from the *tohm* of the son of bishop Aghbianos. They entrusted him to the care of the prince of the *mardpetut'iwn*, who was named Hayr. With him they mustered *awags* of the prince of Gardmanac'jor, and [this party] took along ten other *naxarars*. They accompanied [Shahak] with very grand honor to the great city of Caesarea in the country of Cappadocia. There they ordained Shahak as *kat'oghikos* of Greater Armenia, and they returned to the king with honor.

Thus did Shahak succeed to the position of the patriarchs. He resembled P'arhen in his behavior, and directed the land after his example. However the people he shepherded—generally the king, the *naxarars* and the princes—did not heed his truthful advice, and, even though reprimanded, they openly and boldly worked their sins, fearlessly accomplishing all sorts of evils, forgetting the Lord and His commandments. Others were even worse than they [58] from the lowly to the grandees, impious toward others, and returned to the old former deeds of their fathers. As a result, the Lord God grew angry at them and abandoned them and permitted enemies to rise against and trample them. From the time of the reign of Trdat, [that is] after [Armenia] recognized the Lord, [God] granted them peace and quieted the enemies who surrounded them; the Lord decreased battle in their boundaries, and until that time there was no turbulence or agitation with anyone. They had dwelled in great peace. But now [g56] in this period [the Lord] increased aggravation from their enemies on all sides of their borders. And none of the kings of Armenia could find a friend among them, only enemies.

18.

Hayr mardpet who gave over to destruction the lords naxarars of Armenia.

But during the foolish reign [of Tiran], not only enemy against enemy, but friend against friend and comrade against comrade [were bent on] arousing treachery and betrayal in the realm of Armenia, and they worked a myriad of diverse hostile deeds against each other. For the Lord visited agitation upon them [59] for their spirit of abomination and error. Because of their impiety, first they destroyed and ruined each other. There was one impious and diabolical man who surpassed all the rest, and who aggravated king Tiran against the *naxarar azgs*. This was the eunuch Hayr, who held the *patiw* of the great *mardpetut'iwn*, a wicked-hearted, malicious malefactor. Through slander he effected the destruction of many *naxarars* who had worked no crime, and he disrupted the great lordship of the kingdom. In particular through his slander he managed to have two senior *tohms*—the Rheshtunik' *tohm* and the Arcrunik' *tohm*—put to the sword and [almost] entirely wiped out, without them committing any crime or fault, and they even destroyed the women of [those] *azgs*. Then two children, caught in the scandal, had found refuge by fleeing to *dayeaks*; one was Tachat, the son of Mehendak Erheshtunik', the other, Shawasp, son of Vach'e Arcrunik', both suckling children. They were brought before the king. When [Tiran] saw them, he ordered that they be beheaded for they were the only progeny of [g57] those *azgs*. Now it happened that Artawazd and Vasak, men of the [60] Mamikonean *tohm*, were present. They were generals of the entire Armenian troops. They jumped up, seized the little boys, each one taking one under his arm, and rushed out with their weapons aloft, ready to fight and die for those children. Although [the Mamikoneans] had been raising Arshak, the king's son, nonetheless, angered at the deeds of that time, they left their charge, Arshak, and quit the royal *banak*. They went to their land, to the strongholds of Tayk', remaining there many years with their families, leaving their other home. They raised those children, Shawasp and Tachat, married their daughters to them, and regenerated those *azg(s)*. And they did not participate in Armenian councils for many years.

P'awstos Buzandac'i's

History of the Armenians

Book Three

19.

Yusik's sons Pap and At'angines and how they were killed in a blessed place because of their impiety.

The sons of Yusik, Pap and At'anagines led their lives in impiety, lewdness and God-hating. Every day of their lives passed in great audacity, without the fear of God before their eyes. They conducted themselves in a licentious way, in adultery, and ridiculed and scorned the order of God. Now it happened that [61] they were in the Taron country at the church in the *awan* at Ashtishat, the first church which their grandfather, Gregory, had built, Pap and At'anagines, the two brothers, went and reached that village. With great impiety they were ridiculing the temple of God. The two brothers went and entered the episcopate located there and drank wine with whores, harlots, bards (*gusans*), and jesters, and, scorning the blessed and sacred places, they trampled on them.

While they were in great merriment, reclining in the episcopate eating and drinking, suddenly the angel of the Lord appeared [g58] in the form of a bolt of lightning, striking the two brothers dead where they sat. The other people who were with them in the temple making merry and sitting with them, up and fled from the temple, one and all. Out of terror not one of them turned back, nor did anyone else dare think of going inside or even of approaching the door which had remained open when they fled. On the following days, no one dared to cross the threshold.

Thus did the two brothers, Pap and At'anagines, perish, felled inside the episcopate in the spot where they reclined. The [62] doors of the temple remained open, and no one dared to approach. Finally their bodies rotted, spoiled, and decomposed, and their bones came apart and scattered. Many months passed. Then [the people] dared to enter, collect and remove their bones which had become withered and dry. They removed them to the church vineyard, which was named Agarak. At'anagines was survived by a son from the king's sister, Bambish, named Nerses. Subsequently [Nerses] came to occupy the throne of the patriarchs, throughout the entire country of Armenia. Pap was not survived by any son from his natural wife. However, he had relations with a concubine from the district of Taron [who was] of the *karchazats* of Hac'eac' village. From this Hac'ekac'i concubine who was named ____, [name missing] [Pap] was survived by a son called Vrik [g59]. [63]

20.

Regarding king Tiran, and how he was betrayed by his chamberlain P'isak Siwnik'; how he was lost and how, in a period of peace, he was suddenly arrested by Varaz, the Iranian prince; how the entire country of the Armenians was lost and ruined along with him.

There was still friendship between the two kings of Armenia and Iran. In the land of Atrpatakan a high-ranking individual named Shapuh Varaz resided. Now while complete peace existed between the two kings, at the Lord's will agitation was stirred up as a result of some insignificant matter by a certain vile man (who was not less than a demon (*dew*) in frenzy) named P'isak. He was the chamberlain of king Tiran, and of the Siwnik' *azg*. He had gone as an ambassador to Varaz Shapuh whom the king of Iran had left in the land of Atrpatakan as a border-guard.

At that time king Tiran possessed a horse which [everyone] greatly marvelled at. The horse's color was roan. It was very brave, renowned, splendid, great, tall, broader than any horse and handsomer. Nothing could be compared with it. When the king's chamberlain, P'isak, went on his embassy, he betrayed [the horse's existence] to Varaz with whom he had become friendly. Taking a letter from him, he brought it to the king of Armenia, who refused [to give the horse up]. However, because he distrusted [64] the man [and feared that] he could stir up disturbance between the two kings, [Tiran] sought out a horse possessing the same color, markings, and appearance (except for size, since he could not find such a large horse anywhere). He found a horse of the same roan color and sent it to Varaz the prince in [g60] Atrpatakan together with deeds (*hrovartaks*) and gifts, entrusting it to the fanatical P'isak. [Tiran] advised [P'isak] to say: "This is [the horse] that you requested which, out of affection, [Tiran] did not deny you." But when he reached Varaz, he revealed the matter of the retention [of the horse] and tried to aggravate matters, not wanting to temper his deceitful words. On the contrary, he sharpened his slander further, saying: "The king of Armenia, Tiran, is so filled with envy, jealousy, malevolence, enmity, hatred, ill-will, vacillation and audacity toward the king of Iran and toward all the Iranian forces that to preserve a single hide, he concealed it, ridiculing you. He found another [horse] and entrusted it to me, to bring to you. But that is not the extent of it. He plans to remove the kingship of Iran from the *azg* of Sasan, relying on the emperor and his troops. For, he [65] says, 'that lordship belonged to our fathers, and [now] to us. I shall not rest until I retrieve the honor (*patiw*) of my ancestral fathers, and return the former kingdom to the sons of my *azg*, to my *tun* and to myself personally.'" With such and similar words did the impious P'isak aggravate [Varaz] against his own natural lord, and plot to effect the king's death.

When Varaz Shapuh, *marzpan* of Atrpatakan, heard all this from the desperate dog-mouthed P'isak, he immediately wrote a letter of accusation against the king of Armenia, and sent it to the king of Iran, Nerseh [Translator's note: During the reign of Tiran (339-350) the king of Iran was Saphuhr II (310-379) not Nerseh (293-302)]. He so angered, inflamed and enraged the king of Iran against the king of Armenia that [Varaz] received an order from him to find whatever means possible—artificial slanders—of hunting and seizing the king of Armenia. Thus, while peace still reigned between the two kings, the anger of the Lord was moved to seek vengeance and to demand [punishment] from impious king Tiran for the blessed blood of the two great, leading priests he had slain [g61].

[66] At that time Varaz sent an emissary to the king of Armenia treacherously speaking with him about peace, and requesting permission to visit him (because of his affection [for Tiran]). When Tiran, king of Armenia heard that, he immediately ordered that [Varaz] be summoned to him, with great delight. But before he arrived, [Tiran] reasoned with his own servants, the eunuch attendants of his chamber, saying: "It is befitting for us to divert and gladden the man who is coming to us, with hunts, banquets, and all sorts of pleasant things. But there is no need for him to see that the hunting places here in our country are so great, because of the malevolent, malicious treachery of the Iranian *azg*. Rather, places which are not rich in game must be found, sufficient for his recreation. Let us not hunt in places rich in game, nor make a great slaughter of game for the sake of display. Let us do things for the sake of form, because of the bitterness and wickedness of that *azg*. Let us hunt in the Apahunik' country, at the foot of the great Masis mountain, at the place called *k'aghak'* [the enclosure of] Aghiorsk'.

[67] Shapuh Varaz arrived with 3,000 men, was met by the king in the Apahunik' country, and greatly exalted by him. Those words which the king had spoken about the hunt immediately reached the ears of the Iranian general. [They were uttered] by that world-destroying man, P'isak, the deceitful informer, [who would] lie to,

betray, and kill his lord. For a few days they made merry together. But the Iranian prince craftily kept concealed the enmity he had within him, artificially veiling it, and waiting to work the treachery.

Now it so happened that at that time the generals were not present, having become alienated. Similarly, the grandee *naxarars*, senior *tanuters* of the nobility and the royal troops each were remaining in the dwellings of their *tuns*. No one was [g62] with the king, neither brigade nor cavalry. [Tiran was alone] except for a few attendants, keepers of the hunting hounds, people of the road-crew, the motley force of tent-guards, the *rhamikspas* troops, the queen and the lad Arshak, the king's son. Thus it was [68] that there were few people present at the time. Although [Tiran] observed that the Iranian general had arrived with a dense brigade—he had some 3,000 arms-bearing men with him—[Tiran] felt no distrust or suspicion. For he saw that [Varaz] had come in peace, bearing great gifts, honorable presents and very grand compliments.

After a few days had passed [the Iranians] invited the king to a dinner, to honor him. When they were drinking wine and the king and those with him became quite drunk, a force which had been lying in wait suddenly, unexpectedly pounced upon the couches where each of them were, seizing them while shield-protected spearmen surrounded king Tiran. Seizing him, they restrained his feet and hands with iron fetters and looted whatever they found in the *banak*. They took from the Apahunik' country the king's treasures, goods, wife and son, whatever they found in the *banak*.

[69] When they arrived at a village named Dalarik', the Iranian general entered the village taking the bound king Tiran with him. Varaz said: "Go and find coal to heat iron so we may blind this king of Armenia." They brought coal and blinded king Tiran's eyes. Then Tiran himself began to speak, saying: "Because the light of my two eyes was dimmed in this place, from now to eternity let the name of [this village] be called Acugh [Coal] instead of Dalarik' as a clear sign in memory of me. I recalled and now know that vengeance for the evils and sins I wrought has been demanded from me. For I dimmed this land of which I was king when I deprived it of two radiant *vardapets*, believing that by [g63] this I would extinguish the light of the true preaching of those two believing men. For this reason, the light of my eyes was extinguished."

Then the prince of the Iranian king immediately left Acugh village travelling quickly and taking along king Tiran and all the captives, heading for the country of Iran. He went to Asorestan, to his lord, the king of Iran. The bad news of all this destruction and unexpected misery reached [the Armenians]. Then the *naxarars*, princes, officials, military commanders, chiefs (*pets*) and the entire *ashxarhazhghovk*' multitude assembled. Although they assembled and organized a brigade, ready to pursue Varaz, they were not able to catch up. But they took a part of the land of Iran, killed the people, burned the land, and turned it into a ruin. Then they returned, assembling in one place where they wept and mourned for their natural lord, the king of Armenia. They also wept pitifully for the loss of the land, and for the fact that they themselves were left lordless.

21.

How all the lords of Armenian assembled in unity and sent to the emperor of Byzantium, pledging their loyalty; how king Nerseh of Iran came to Armenia with many troops but was defeated and escaped to Iran by a hairsbreadth.

Then people of the land of Armenia assembled in a larger meeting of unity. [This included] the grandee *naxarars*, *awags*, governors, rulers of lands, *azats*, military commanders, judges, chiefs (*pets*), princes, as well as generals, *shinakans*, and even *rhamiks*. Those assembled spoke with their comrades, saying: "What is this [g64] that we are doing, mourning? The enemy will conquer us in this way. Very soon they will invade. Come, let us console ourselves, save ourselves and our land, and seek vengeance for our natural lord." Thus it was that all the people of the land came together [71] and took counsel together to find aid and assistance for themselves.

They sent [a delegation consisting of] the great *naxarars* of the Armenian nobility carrying gifts to the Byzantine emperor [proposing] that they extend their hand to, and obediently serve him, and that he would aid them and support them in exacting vengeance from their enemies. They sent:

Andovk, *nahapet* of Siwnik',
Arshawir Kamsarakan, *nahapet* of Arsharunik'.

They reached the imperial palace of the kings in the land of Byzantium, presented the *hrovartak*, had the gifts brought forth, and presented the message of the entire land to the emperor. When the emperor heard about this, with great alacrity and preparation he undertook to expedite matters, to help and aid the land of Armenia. This was especially so since he remembered the treaty sealed with an oath and confirmed [which had existed] between the emperor Constantine and king Trdat.

[72] Now while the emissaries who had gone to the imperial palace from the country of Armenia had not yet returned to their land, Nerseh himself, king of Iran, came from the east to burn, ruin, destroy and make the borders of the country of Armenia completely his own. He took all of his troops with the main baggage, all in a great caravan, with a multitude of elephants, unlimited supplies, with the main tents (*mashkapachens*), all the women and the queen of queens, and arrived at the borders of Armenia. He filled up the entire country. Then the *azatazork'* of Armenian *naxarars* took their families and fled to the Byzantine areas, [g65] bringing the bad news to the multi-brigade *banak* of the emperor's *naxarars*. Now when the emperor of Byzantium heard all this, he too assembled his troops and came to the country of Armenia, against the king of Iran. He left his army near the city of Satagh. He himself selected two principal wise men from the Armenian army, namely Arshawir and Andovk, who had previously gone to him as emissaries. Then the emperor himself entered the Iranian army in the disguise of a *shinakan* cabbage-seller.

[The Iranian army] was encamped in the district of Basean, in the village called Oxsay. They came and entered the army of the king [73] of Iran, and observed and noted the number of their troops. Then they returned to their camp and prepared their organization. [The Byzantines] came and attacked the army of the king of Iran encamped in that same place, finding them negligently unconcerned and unsuspectingly at rest. Attacking during the daytime, they fell upon the Iranian king, putting everything to the sword and sparing no one. Then they took the *banak* as loot, the king's women, the *bambish* [queen of queens] and the women with her their possessions and goods into captivity—their women and treasures, provisions and equipment. Only the king was able to escape by a hairsbreadth and go free as a fugitive, thanks to a swift running pony. And he barely reached his own land. Then the emperor, elevated with great pomp, appeared in the midst of the army. They killed all the mature males, and took the rest as captives to the country of Byzantium. He left the princes Andovk and Arshawir as overseers of the land, exalting them with great gifts and great honors. The emperor entrusted all the princes and their land to them, and then [g66] departed for his own country, Byzantium.

[74] The king of Iran went as a fugitive to his own country. When he got there, he assembled all those remaining under his authority and set about investigating things. He held counsel and conducted an inquiry again so that they could see and reveal how this war had started. On this occasion circumstances were disclosed and it was plainly revealed that it had arisen over an insignificant matter, a malicious slander, that the frenzied Shapuh Varaz had stirred up the disturbance over one single horse. So the king ordered that his *patiw* be removed, that his robe of honor be stripped from him, and that Varaz be subjected to great torments. After the Iranian fashion, he commanded that [Varaz'] skin be flayed, stuffed with straw, and the body hanged in the view of his concourse, in ignominy. He himself regretted what had happened and sent honorable princes [to the emperor] for peace, to get the captives returned and to beseech him to speak of peace and reconciliation so that at least his women be returned from captivity and he himself released from the ignominy of insulting blame.

[75] The emperor of Byzantium, Vaghes [Translator's note: The Byzantine emperor at the time was actually

Constantius (337-361)], wrote a *hrovartak* to the king of Iran, [saying the following]: "First return the captives you took from the country of Armenia and principally king Tiran, as well as everything else you took thence. When you have done that I will return what I have taken. But first you return their booty and then I will return yours." As soon as the king of Iran heard this command, he immediately implemented it. He removed the captive Tiran from the shackles of the prison house and spoke affectionately with him saying that he would once again [g67] enthrone him in his own land and return him in honor. But Tiran replied: "In my blindness it is useless, improper and indeed impossible for me to hold the reign. But make my son, Arshak, king in my place."

Then [the Iranian king] enthroned Arshak, [Tiran's] son over the land of Armenia, simultaneously returning the king's women, all the other captives, with treasures, presents, and goods. With great preparation, the king of Iran personally organized and dispatched Tiran from his land to the country of Armenia. Thus he faithfully implemented the Byzantine emperor's commands. When he had sent them [76] to Armenia, he then dispatched those emissaries who had come to him from the Byzantine emperor, so that they would go and tell the emperor that he had implemented his commands, and so that the emperor would return what he had captured from the king of Iran. When the emperor of Byzantium heard all this, that the Iranian king had done all he had commanded, returning the Armenian captives and king Tiran, he was pleased. Then the Byzantine emperor returned the captives of the Iranian king. He sent the women of the king of Iran back to him in great honor, and with them, all that had been captured [g68]. [Translator's note: Pages 69-74 contain chapter headings for Book IV, and are not translated. The text resumes on page 75.]

P'awstos Buzandac'i's

History of the Armenians

Fourth Book

1.

How after many calamities in battle king Nerseh of Persia enthroned Tiran's son Arshak, returning him to the land of the Armenians with his father and all the captives.

When there was agreement and great peace between the king of Byzantium and the king of Iran, Nerseh, with the two of them affectionately implementing the desires of the other, the emperor of Byzantium returned the captives of the king of Iran. And Nerseh, king of Iran, enthroned Tiran's son, Arshak, and sent him, his father, their women, all the captives, their treasures and belongings [back to Armenia] with great glory. Arshak, king of Greater Armenia, having become king in the country of Asorestan, came and reached the country of Armenia together with his father and entire family. He assembled the dispersed folk of the country and reigned over them.

There was great peace in that time. All the concealed, the [g75] fugitives and the missing of the country of Armenia assembled, and dwelled in great peace without suspicion under the protection of king Arshak. Then [the people of] the land of Armenia were ordered, organized and at peace between the two kings, and [78] thereafter each person dwelled in peace enjoying his own creations.

2.

The restoration of the orders and customs in the land of the Armenians, the regulation and renewal of the kingdom.

At that time king Arshak [350-367] raised the question of the *tohm* of the generals, the *azg* of the Mamikonean braves, especially since they had been his *dayeaks* and nourishers. He went and found them in the strongholds of their land of Tayk' and brought them back into confidence (for during the period of Tiran's madness, they had split and broken with communication and from all Armenian affairs). The king established the senior brother Vardan in the *nahapetut'iwn* of his *azg*; the middle brother, Vasak, his *dayeak*, in the *sparapetut'iwn*, the generalship in charge of military affairs; and the youngest was appointed [to look after] the needs of the troops. Similarly, all the *azgs* of the troops of the grandee *nahapets* were returned as had been the case under former kings, each to his proper station. He also placated [79] the grandees, dividing the troops of each one on all sides, and appointing border-guards for the borders of Armenia.

Thus was the lordship of the kingdom of Armenia renewed and clarified, as it had been previously: each of the grandees on his *gah*, and each official according to his station. The first office of the *hazarapetut'iwn*, [the

office] concerned with looking after the land and keeping it cultivated, [went to] the Gnunik' *azg* [in charge of] making the *shinakans* flourish; [the official was] [g76] *hazarapet* of the entire country. Similarly [the function] of *sparapetut'iwn*-stratelate, the generalship [in charge] of warfare of military fronts [went to] the Mamikonean *azg*, the *aghanazgik'*, *aghanadroshk'* [banners], with the symbol of an eagle, emblazoned with a bird, the fearless, brave-hearted renowned champions, well-formed, well-reputed doers of good deeds, successful in military matters. [They were placed] in the natural orders of their ancestors, over the entire principality, over all the troops of the generalship, [over] the multitude of Greater Armenia, this victorious *azg*, which was always successful, favored by heaven, [the Mamikoneans] [80] well-named and brave [designated] in the great *nahapetut'iwn* of war. Aside from these *azgs*, [Arshak appointed] officials from lower [*azgs*] who sat before the king on cushions, their *patis* on their heads. Not counting the grandee *nahapets* and *tanuters*, those who were only officials [comprised] nine hundred cushions, [individuals] who entered the *tachar* at the time of merry banquets; to say nothing of the attendants, officials who stood.

3.

Concerning Saint Nerses, where he was from and how he was elected kat'oghikos of Greater Armenia.

There assembled before king Arshak the grantees, the *nahapets* of many *azgs*, of many *tohms*, the lords of brigades and banners, all the satrapal *naxarars*, *azats*, *pets*, princes, generals, border-guards, in one united assembly. [They had assembled] to ponder and take counsel as to who should be their leader, who was worthy [81] of sitting on the patriarchal throne and shepherding the rational flock of Christ. This thought found general acceptance among all the attendees, that they select a leader from the *tun* of Gregory's survivors. All of them said to the king: "Just as God [g77] renewed your kingdom, so it is necessary to renew the spiritual *nahapetut'iwn* through [Gregory's] descendants. For when that throne is restored, then the moral splendor of the land of Armenia will be restored.

Then the *ashxarhazhoghov zork'* of that multitude expressly requested Nerses (At'anagenes' son, the chief-priest Yusik's grandson, who was V'rt'anes' son, who was the son of Gregory the great, the first chief-priest). [Nerses'] mother was Bambish, the sister of king Tiran. During his youth, leading a lay life, he had married. From childhood he had been nourished and educated in the city of Cappadocia, Caesarea by faithful *vardapets* and was beloved by his classmates. At that time he was a military official, the beloved chamberlain of king Arshak, responsible for all the internal and external arrangements in the life of the realm.

[82] He was a tall man, of pleasing size and captivating beauty, so much so that his equal in good looks could not be found in the world. Everyone looking at him found him desirable, amazing and venerable, and he displayed enviable courage in military training. He had the fear of God in his heart and stringently upheld His commandments. He was humane, pure and modest, very intelligent, unbiased, just, humble, a lover of the poor, proper in married life, and perfect in the love of God. He dealt with his comrades in accordance with the commandment—to love one's comrade as oneself. Similarly in military matters he had a perfectly virtuous behavior. From his childhood onward he lived according to the Lord's commandments, with justice, purity, and serving his comrades. He never tired, with a zeal for God in his heart; he was accomplished in everything, burning with the holy Spirit. He loved the poor and afflicted and kept a watchful eye on them, to the point that he shared his clothing and food with them; he was a helper and superintendent to the oppressed and anguished, and he encouraged all the dispossessed [g78].

[83] Now while [Nerses] stood at the king's side in service, wearing his military dress adorned with the attractive ornaments on his robe, of tall height, with his attractive hairstyle, bearing aloft the royal sword of steel with its golden sheath, with his belt of costly gems decorated with pearls, those at the *atean* generally raised a shout, saying: "Let Nerses be our shepherd." When he heard this, he cried out in protest, regarding

himself as unworthy, and not wanting to consent. But he saw that all of them insisted on the same thing in the king's presence: "We do not want anyone else as our shepherd but [Nerses]. No one but he will sit on that throne." But since, out of modesty, he did not consider himself worthy, he came forward and began speaking a little bit falsely about himself. He started to accuse himself of impieties and sins which he [in fact] had not committed.

But the multitude, upon hearing this and knowing that he was making up falsehoods, together with the king grew weak from laughter. The troops were all clamoring: "Let your sins be upon us and upon our sons, and your impieties as well. Do you restore for us your [great grand]father's deeds and leadership." But since [Nerses] had no other way of answering them, [said the following] to wound the [84] troops: "You are impious and obscene. I am unable to be your shepherd, or to take on your sins. I cannot respect or bear your wickedness. Today you like me crookedly; tomorrow you will be my enemies and haters, and make me your scourge. Leave me alone. Perhaps, without cares, I will pass my life of tribulations and sins in accordance with my unworthiness, awaiting the eternal judgement of the next life." The multitude of troops raised a cry [g79] saying: "It is just you, the sinner, who must be our shepherd." It was God's providence that the people were so insisting. king Arshak, in his animalic fury, seized and pulled toward himself the royal sword with the belt which Nerses bore in attendance on the king according to the rules of the chamberlain-ship (*senekapetut'iwn*), and removed it from him. Then he ordered that [Nerses] be bound in his presence, that his attractive, curly locks (which had no equal) be sheared, and that the comely robe be torn off. He also commanded that they garb him in clerical clothing. He gave the order, and they summoned an aged bishop, named P'awstos, and had him ordain [Nerses] into the deaconship. But while they were cutting his hair, because of its beauty, many who heard about this [85] or saw it wept at how his beauty had been altered. But when they saw him adorned with Christian beauty, many rejoiced that, thanks [to God] the benevolent, he had been called to be the trustee of the house of Christ.

It was the Lord Who had awakened the thought in all of them to request him as their shepherd, someone who could be their leader and show them the path of Life. While [Nerses] was still in military garb, the inner man was dressed in Christian clothing and he personified noble behavior. With the expectation he had, he had been crucified with Christ, buried with Him, with the love of faith he had died for sins, and awaited resurrection with the hope of justice. Thus truly was he deserving of the throne of the patriarchs, of the place of his fathers the leaders, of the throne of the Apostle Thaddeus, and the inheritance of his physical as well as spiritual father, Gregory. But it was the Lord Who summoned him to such a calling, and placed the thought in everyone's mind to demand him as worthy of it. But [Nerses] [g80] (out of great piety and humility) considered himself undeserving of this great dignity of God which they placed on him; but it was through force, unity [of the assembly] and the command of God. For regarding him, it had been said to his ancestors, to Yusik, in a vision from God, [86] that a man would be born to his son who would be the light of the world.

4.

How Nerses was taken and brought to Caesarea, and about God's miracles.

Then the grandee princes assembled to take the coveted Nerses to the place where they were accustomed to anoint the patriarchs. The multitude of Armenian bishops assembled near the king to think about this matter. All of them elected him unanimously and it pleased them all to seat him on the throne of leadership. With the unanimous consent of the bishops, the king and the *ashxarhaxorh* [participants], [the following delegates] were dispatched:

Hayr, the great prince of the *mardpetut'iwn*,
Bagarat, the great prince of the *aspetut'iwn*,

Daniel, the great prince of Cop'k',
Mehandak Rheshtuni,
Andovk, prince of Siwnik',
Arshawir, prince of Shirak and Arsharunik',
Noy, prince of the other Cop'k',
and Pargew, prince of the Amatunik' *tun*.

All [of these dignitaries] were organized and dispatched with many presents, very great gifts, and reliable *hrovartaks* to Eusebius, the *kat'oghikos* of *kat'oghikoi*, to the country of Cappadocia and its [87] capital city of Caesarea, so that they ordain the blessed Nerses into the *kat'oghikosate* of Greater Armenia there [g81.]

Cheerfully rejoicing they arrived and saw there the *kat'oghikos* of *kat'oghikoi*, the blessed, renowned, venerable, and marvellous Eusebius. They presented king Arshak's *hrovartak* to him and brought the gifts before him. He received them with affection and great exaltation, and in accordance with canonical custom, the great archbishop Eusebius assembled the multitude of blessed bishops, in accordance with Apostolic custom to ordain the blessed Nerses to be archbishop of Greater Armenia. Great miracles took place. For as he entered the church, a white dove descended over the altar, facing the priesthood and all the people. And when Eusebius the chief archbishop and the priests with him entered, including a chief presbyter named Barsighios, the dove flew from the altar and perched on him, remaining there for many hours. When the hour approached that they wished to ordain Nerses, the dove flew from the blessed Basil and perched on the head of Nerses.

When these miracles and signs from God occurred over this man, all of the people and the great archbishop Eusebius were astonished. They all cried out: "You have pleased God, and the Spirit [88] of God alighted upon you, for this resembled the time when the most Holy Spirit appeared over the Lord." Then they ordained and seated him upon the throne of the episcopate, revering him. And many said *encomia* to him (which means that the Holy Spirit rested on him). But [Nerses] more than ever, regarded himself as unworthy of this. With very great pomp they put [Nerses] and the grandee *naxarars*, the satraps of Armenia, on their way.

With remarkable spiritual glory they reached the country of Armenia. king Arshak went out to meet them, as far as the mountain called Arhewc. There they met with [g82] great happiness and filled with the blessing of greeting, they, returned to the land. The blessed Nerses sat upon the patriarchal throne; during his shepherdhood there was much peace in the land. For in his conduct and course he resembled his father, the great Gregory, possessing the most goodly paternal behavior. He restored the father's Apostolic graces, and similarly showed the same concern to preserve [his flock] unharmed from visible and invisible enemies.

[89] He especially resembled the first trees and during the course of his teaching he brought forth the same and similar ripe fruits for all, offering them generously, nourishing them with the spiritual field. He was so filled with graces that he worked very great miracles, cured the sick wherever it was necessary, and putting those in error upon the [correct] path. He accomplished these great miracles: when he saw someone extremely stubborn, he convinced that person by inspiring him with awe; as for the obedient (the ears of whose souls were open), he convinced them with preaching.

He rebuilt the ruined churches and erected the destroyed altars. Those of little faith he confirmed in full atonement so that, believing in God, they would be able to live. He consoled the believers with the hope of eternal good gifts. He again made the throne of Thaddeus flourish, and was a son like his fathers. Reprimanding the slanderers, he stopped their mouths, he obstructed impiety as well as the words and deeds of such people. And he battled even to the death for Truth. He encouraged and defended the side of justice, and with the rain of his doctrine he nourished and made luxuriant the profitable and just deeds, with blessing. [This was done] throughout all the boundaries of Greater Armenia; where his fathers before had sown the preaching of the Word of Life, he irrigated it with his rain. The reaping *mshak*, [90] he caused the plant to grow, becoming a co-worker of the seeders, [g83] and he stored the abundant results in the graineries of the

kingdom. He was a substitute and co-worker of his preceding *mshak* fathers.

He held within himself unrelatable powers, and was extremely concerned with the orders of clemency, First, he himself did good deeds; then, he gave others the example of benevolence, with doctrinal words exhorting everyone, and opening the closed doors of their minds toward good. He taught the most goodly love, hope, faith, purity, sweetness, meekness and freedom from revenge, [He exhorted] having care for providing for the poor, and gave hope that [the merciful] would be recompensed at the time of Christ's promised [second] coming, when judgement would be forged by inextinguishable fire. He threatened eternal evils, also recalling the coming of Jesus Christ, the Son of God. He inspired such fear that all the believers dwelling in the boundaries of Armenia willingly offered up and shared their belongings with their poor, doing this happily and joyfully. [91] [Nerses] went to the district of Taron and assembled all the bishops of the land of Armenia. They gathered in the village of Ashtishat, where the first church had been built, for that was the mother of the churches, and the site of synodical assemblies of [their] ancestors. All of them came to this consensual assembly, and held a beneficial consultation to implement the lay orders of the Church and [arrange] the general [canons] of the faith. Then they arranged, organized, made canons and devised [others] and all the people of the country of Armenia [became] like a general community of monastics, except for the laws of marriage. The blessed archbishop Nerses extended over all the canons stipulated by the Apostles. He advised all, exhorting, and guiding toward benevolence. First he did it, then he taught all of them the same thing. He ordered that the same be implemented in all the lands, districts, areas, regions and corners in the boundaries of Armenia. [He] declared that they should designate [g84] appropriate places and build poor-houses, that the diseased, lepers, crippled and all the afflicted be gathered. They set up for them leprosaria and hospitals, and stipends and provisions for the poor. [92] For the great archbishop Nerses so ordered and everyone at the blessed assembly was in agreement, so that such people would remain in their own stations and not go forth in their tribulations to beg, and never go out of their own doors, but rather that everyone would be responsible for [caring for] them. He said it was necessary that the order of the land not be corrupted, but rather that it was fitting that everyone generally with mercy and piety take them provisions and that their needs be taken care of.

He built such [institutions] and arranged, organized and established many other charities, instructing the land. He established many other orders of patrimonial canons. He advised that [people] should always consider the hope of resurrection and not think that human death was final, without the hope of returning to life. Consequently they should not, in despair, carry out the crime of excessive mourning and unlimited lamentation for the departed. Rather, with the hope of the Lord's coming, [93] they should expect the renewal of resurrection and await the Lord's coming when everyone would receive eternal recompense in accordance with their deeds. [He also advised] that they be canonical in marriage, not to deceive or be treasonous toward their spouses, and especially to avoid marriage with relatives or admixture between *tohm*-members of the [same] *azg*, relations [g85] with sisters-in-law/daughters-in-law or anything resembling it. [He advised adherence to] the canon totally rejecting the eating of carrion and blood, or approaching menstruating [women]. Before the Lord, all of that is regarded as impure.

[He condemned] treachery, secret accusation, greed, the evil-eye, lust, dispossession, homosexuality, effeminacy, slander, immoderate drinking, gluttony, ravishment, prostitution, vengeance against enemies, falseness, hostility, cruelty, the swearing of false oaths, killing with bloodshed, the obscenity of bestiality, not having faith in the [second] coming and resurrection, hopelessly weeping for the dead—he regarded all of these as the same abyss of ruination. He commanded the entire [94] land, especially the king, all the grandees, and everyone who held authority over his fellow, to have mercy toward their servants, their juniors, and students, to love them like family and not to harass them with unworthy and especially exorbitant taxes, more than the measure. They should remember that the Lord of heaven is for them too. Similarly he commanded the servants, to be faithful and obedient to their lords, for their reward will come from the Lord.

In his day there was peace and renovation in all of the churches; the prestigious honor of all the bishops throughout all the places of Greater Armenia grew; the church orders blossomed and completely glistened,

the orders of the cathedral churches were established in all comliness, the orders of holy worship grew, and the number of clerics increased. The orders of the Church increased in both the *shens* [cultivated] and the non-*shen* places, as did the number of clerics.

In various places in all the districts of Armenia, [Nerses] set up Greek and Syrian schools. He effected the salvation and return from captivity of many oppressed and tormented captives [g86]; [95] he freed half by preaching of the awe of Christ's glory, while the others he freed by paying ransom. And thus he returned each to his place. He gave rest and provisions to widows, orphans, and the indigent, while the poor were always with him, joyfully. His *tachar* and table was always frequented by the poor, foreigners, and guests. He was so fond of the poor that although he had built all the poor-houses throughout all the districts, stipulating provisions for them (so that they would not have to labor beyond arising from their beds), nonetheless, without them he did not hold *tachar*. The lame, the blind, the crippled, the deaf, the disabled, the wanting and needy sat with him at table and were fed. With his own hands he washed them all, anointing, bandaging [the wounds], with his hands he divided the food, and spent all [his] belongings for their needs. All the foreigners remained and rested under his shade.

Whatever he did, he taught others to do. Pure, sentient and alert, he made everyone ready for the Word of God. Like the prophets and Apostles, he taught mercy, saying: "You must atone your sins with mercy, and your impieties with kindness and offerings to the poor." He recalled the Apostles, who, to care [96] for the poor, elected the great proto-martyr and proto-deacon Stephen with his comrades, for whom the heavens opened and for this work was made worthy of seeing the Son at the right side of God the Father.

[He recalled] Aycemik [Gazelle], her mercy, the lament of the widows and how Peter the great [Apostle] brought back to life [this woman] who had departed this life and died. He said: [g87] "[The Apostle] Paul told how when Jacob, Kephaz and John, the true pillars saw how I was given the great grace, and that I was finding success in preaching the Gospel among the uncircumcised (as they were among the circumcised), they gave me yet more liberty, and agreed that I and Barnabas [should preach] among the pagans, as they did among the circumcised. But they commanded me to have concern for the poor, just as I have been laboring to do".

Similarly, and more so, [did Nerses recall] the Lord's words regarding the wealthy man [*mecatun*], who had fulfilled all the commandments, but then heard from the Lord that [he must] sell his goods and give to the poor, and find his treasure in heaven. And then, that it is easier for a thick rope to pass through the eye of [97] a needle than for a rich greedy man to enter the Kingdom of God. And: "You made your friends through unjust simony," which receive you under their eternal taxes. Or as Paul himself, so zealous to do good, urged all of the people, saying: "Follow affection, and pursue the spiritual." Or, with what enthusiasm the Achaeans served the saints in Macedonia, he inspired the listeners and encouraged them to do good virtuous deeds without hindrance, saying: "It is good to be zealous for good." And again he strived that all should follow Christ. "Look," he said, "to Christ the commander of the faith and the implementer." "Remember your leaders and overseers for the Lord, who preached the word of Life for you; see their course and resemble them in the faith." And at the same time he said: "Let every one of you who believes in Jesus Christ think this way." "Jesus started to work and to teach." Then recalling the Lord's goodly brother Jacob in his letter: "Brothers, take example from the prophets who suffered long torments for the name of the Lord. Hear the story of Job's patience, look to the Lord's death."

[Nerses] preached these and similar things, at all times [g88]. Day and night, he did not cease preaching and protesting. With the Holy Spirit which dwelled within him, wisely, throughout the course of his entire life Nerses, Armenia's venerable archbishop, [98] everyday was teaching and schooling everyone, like a very kind father, like a loving mother, inspiring everyone with spiritual love; the grandees, the clergy, the honorable and the dishonored, the rich, the poor, the *azats* and the *shinakans*. And [Nerses] fulfilled the superintendency of the land with all trusteeship without any laziness or any delay, to the end of his life. And he had no equal ever in the Hayastan country.

5.

Concerning Nerses, kat'oghikos of Armenia, how he was sent by king Arshak with lords to Valens, emperor of the Byzantines; how he was exiled; but how other lords were returned to the country of Armenia with gifts.

It became necessary to send [to the Byzantine empire a delegation] regarding the treaty of peace and unity between the land of Armenia and the emperor of Byzantium, organized greatly by the king of Armenia. The great *kat'oghikos* of Armenia, Nerses, and ten satraps of the grandees of Armenia went with him to renew the oath of agreement and peace between the emperor and themselves. They went and reached the imperial palace of the emperor of Byzantium.

[99] In that period, the great emperor of Byzantium, Vaghes, was in the error of the Arian heresy [Translator's note: The Byzantine emperors during the reign of Arshak (350-367) were: Constantius (337-361), Julian the Apostate (361-363), Jovian (363-364), and P'awstos' favorite, Valens (364-378)]. At first, when the king saw them he elaborately exalted them with very splendid glory. Now it happened that the emperor had an only child who had become severely ill, and the emperor pressured Armenia's blessed [g89] *kat'oghikos* Nerses to pray over the child. Nerses came forth and said: [Translator's note: Nerses' lengthy denunciation of Arianism is omitted here] [g90-95].

Blessed Nerses said all this and then added: "[The Lord] because of His mercy and benevolence will hear you [atone] for the next fifteen days. He will allow you that much time and be patient so that you will become correct in the faith. Let this be a sign for you: if by that time you are not confirmed in the faith, the child will die so that you believe that what is being spoken is the truth." [g96]

While he was speaking, the king was entirely silent sitting with legs crossed, chin in hand, hand on knee. When [Nerses] was speaking, the royal stenographers who were in the emperor's presence were writing [down his words]. The emperor became infuriated and commanded that the blessed archbishop of Armenia, [100] be firmly bound with iron shackles, thrown in prison and kept there while they noted whether the child would live or not, after which [the emperor] would decide what to do. [Translator's note: The child dies. We omit the translation of this section] [The emperor decides to exile Nerses] [g97].

As for those princes who had accompanied the blessed Nerses from the country of Armenia, [the emperor] dispatched them loading them with much treasure. He blinded them all with bribes and sent them with much treasure of gold and silver and precious gems to king [Arshak], hoping thereby to please the [g99] king. For there was no limit to the treasure he sent to the king of Armenia. He also wrote a letter of accusation to him about the blessed Nerses saying that he had killed his son. He also dispatched the Arshakuni hostages of the king of Armenia who had been kept at the imperial palace. They were the nephews (brother's sons) of king Arshak, one named Gnel, the other, Tirit'. They were entrusted to the *satraps* of Armenia, and thus were they sent on their way [g100].

6-10 [We omit the translation of chapters 6-10, which are an account of Nerses' exile and miraculous survival on a desert island] [g101-112].

P'awstos Buzandac'i's

History of the Armenians

Book Four

11.

The princes return to the country of Armenia and to king Arshak from the Byzantine emperor Vaghes. [They] had been sent previously along with the patriarch Nerses. And how the indignant king Arshak of Armenia conducted punishing raids into Byzantine territory.

[101] [The following] are the princes who had gone to Vaghes, the emperor of Byzantium from the great king Arshak, from the land of Armenia:

The great archbishop of Armenia, Nerses himself,

the great nahapet of the Mamikonean *tohm*, named Vardan, the brother of the great *stratelate* of Armenia, named Vasak (they were the *dayeaks* and nourishers of king Arshak),

Mehen, the *nahapet* of Rhshtunik',
Meharh, the *nahapet* of Anjewac'ik',
Garjoyl Maghaz, the *nahapet* of Xorhxorunik',
Mushk, the *nahapet* of Saharhunik',
Demet, the *nahapet* of Gnt'unik',
Gishken, the *nahapet* of Bagenk',
Surik, the *nahapet* of Hesijor,
Vrken, the *nahapet* of Habuzhenk'.

These [individuals] went to the emperor Vaghes in an embassy [to confirm] affection and unity. But emperor Vaghes detained and exiled the great chief-priest Nerses, releasing in his place king Arshak's nephews (brother's sons), Gnel and Tirit'. [Vaghes] also sent much, inestimable treasure to placate the mind of king Arshak, entrusting this to Vardan and those with him. The emissaries who had left the emperor came to king Arshak of Greater Armenia [102] presenting him with the emperor's *hrovartak* and with it a document of displeasure and accusation. For the emperor had written to Arshak, the king of Armenia, about the blessed Nerses, saying that he had killed his only son, and therefore had been arrested. "And so that you will not in any way blame us, accept the two freed hostages, the brother's sons of Arshak, Gnel and Tirit'." [The emissaries] also laid before the king countless treasures of wealth.

Now when king Arshak heard and saw all of this, he was ungrateful to the giver and to the bearers of the wealth. He was [g113] moved to intense anger against the emperor, [wondering] how he dared to detain a man [such as Nerses], great and honorable, the head, *vardapet*, and leader of the land and realm. He said: "[May] many rocks [fall] upon the emperor and upon you, the bearers. We too have many rocks with which

to knock out your teeth and his. How can I stand this wickedness done to us? Now I will repay him for this favor." He commanded Vasak, his general, to assemble a force, to organize brigades, and to go and loot the Cappadocian areas. [103] The general and *sparapet* Vasak immediately implemented the orders given him; he assembled in one place some 260,000 troops, and looted the Cappadocian areas as far as the city of Ankura. For six years, one after the other, he destroyed the land on the borders of Byzantium. They filled up with much loot and diverse sorts of greatness, visiting upon those areas violence with great, intense enmity.

12.

About the bishop of Bagrawand, Xad, whom the patriarch Nerses had left in his place; what sort of man he was, the signs and miracles he wrought, how he stood up for truth, and ignored the great king Arshak of Armenia and how he reproved him for his impious deeds; how he loved the poor just as did the patriarch Nerses.

This man, Xad, was a native of the Karin district, from the village of Marag. He had been raised by the archbishop Nerses and nourished before him. He displayed mental quickness, prominence in the faith, in his position he was trustworthy in all things, especially displaying love for the Church of God. Then the blessed Nerses also entrusted him with superintendency of [g114] the poor. In this too he revealed his special consideration.

Now before the archbishop Nerses left on his journey to the country of Byzantium, he ordained this Xad into the episcopate of [104] Bagrawand and Arsharunik'. He left him as his *locum tenens* and departed. Meanwhile the entire land of Armenian language was plunged into mourning over the loss of their shepherd and leader, who had left them: in the different districts and regions and areas, the grandees, holders of lands, lords of districts, *nahapets*, chiefs of the *azgs*, the entire covenant of the priesthood, and the united assembly of the people. The blessed bishop Xad commanded the entire land to pray and supplicate [God] that the holy Nerses be returned to them. And the entire period that he was in detention, the people prayed for him with fasting. Xad led them in everything in no way inferior than their natural shepherd, Nerses, until his return, until the Lord fulfilled the requests of the land and returned the blessed Nerses to his place.

In that period Arshak, the king of Armenia, did not traverse the path of God, to any great extent. Just as in his childhood he had acted in accordance with divine wisdom, so to the same extent as an adult he was mired in debauched lewdness. [105] Although the blessed shepherd Xad reprimanded and reproached [him] many times, he was ignored. In that period the king built himself a *dastakert* in the so-called valley of the district of Kog. He issued an order throughout all the districts of his authority and had it preached in every public place in his lands (such that every place in his districts was full of the royal command), that if someone, anywhere, was guilty, or was liable to prosecution they might come to the *dastakert* and flourish. If they had shed blood, [g115] had committed a crime, had abducted a woman, or were guilty, had taken another's wealth, or were afraid of anyone, and if they came to that place there would be no lawsuit or adjudication. And if someone was in debt to someone else and the creditor came to that place, without trial or adjudication [the creditor] would be seized and expelled.

When the royal command had gone forth, there assembled at that place all the thieves and brigands, shedders of blood, killers, liars and harmful seducers, stealers of treasures, dispossessors, false-testifiers, [false] accusers, plunderers, ravishers and covetous people. They had worked many [106] different crimes, and then fled there. Many women left their men and fled there; many men abandoned their women and fled there; they took other women and fled there; many servants seized the treasuries of their lords and fled there; many depositaries took reserves filled with deposits and fled there; they plundered and ruined the entire country. Although the outcry was very great [against it], there was no [law]suit, and the court did not defend anyone's

right. Consequently everyone was sighing and lamenting, saying: "Rights have died, and as a result cannot be found. If they had existed and were lost, we would search for them wherever possible and seek to find them."

Now that place became an *awan* and a city and became so large that it filled the entire valley. Then king Arshak ordered that the *dastakert* should be named after himself, Arshakawan. They also built a royal mansion there. After this, no one feared his lord at all. Everyone felt dispossession, and cries of sadness increased. As a result of this, the blessed bishop Xad often reproached and reprimanded him, especially when [Arshak] pressured him to "Come, erect an altar in the church at the *awan* of Arshakawan." But [Xad] [107] frequently chided and reprimanded king Arshak and all the grandees and princes. He said: "I am a *locum tenens*, and have [gl 16] no authority to do anything without [my] father [Nerses] who left me here."

But king Arshak wanted to capriciously deceive the blessed bishop Xad with honor(s) and through greed for wealth. He gave him much gold, many treasures of silver, many steeds from the royal horses, with royal ornaments and silk worked with gold, to deceptively placate him and win him over. But the wealth which [Xad] took from the king, in his presence, he distributed to the poor. Nor did he lessen the reprimands until [the king] ordered that the bishop Xad be expelled from the *banak*.

Now [Xad] circulated throughout the land, arranging, advising, teaching and providing for the poor as the blessed Nerses had told him to. Many signs of powerful healing of the sick were done by his hands, and he accomplished very many very great miracles. But as he aided the poor and emptied and spilled the new vessels and store-rooms of wine belonging to the apostates, dividing up all the vessels of the store-rooms among the poor, he would go the next day and see them all filled, as if by God's command. Again, each day he would serve the poor, and [the vessels][108] were always refilled.

Thus were the very great miracles accomplished by this man. He was wonderfully renowned and magnificent throughout all of Armenia. He circulated about advising and teaching the churches of Armenia, everywhere just like his *vardapet* Nerses. However, once thieves came and stole oxen [belonging] to the church of the blessed bishop Xad. Now the next day the thieves' eyes were blinded and they, without knowing it, gropingly came and brought all the oxen to the blessed Xad's door. Then the blessed Xad himself went outside and saw them, thanking the Lord Who had been so watchful as to visit His believers. Bishop Xad prayed and healed the thieves' eyes. He ordered that they wash and he placed a meal before them, and greatly gladdened them. He then blessed them, gave them the oxen they had stolen, and released them [gl 17]. Thus did he display great patience in all his affairs, working many signs and miracles. [Xad] had two daughters. He gave one of them in marriage to a certain Asurk who, after [the death of] his father-in-law, held the throne of Xad. [109]

13.

The return of the blessed kat'oghikos of the Armenians, Nerses, from Byzantium; how he reprimanded Arshak, the great king of the Armenians; the blow that God delivered to the awan called Arshakawan, and how the entire multitude of people gathered in that place perished suddenly.

When the emperor perished, all the shepherding bishops who had been exiled returned and dwelled in their own cities. At that time the blessed *kat'oghikos* Nerses returned from the desert island where he had been detained. The entire land which had been requesting [his return] was favored with him again. When he returned to the land of Armenia there went before him the bishops of all the districts with their people, all the *naxarars*, and all the holders of districts. They brought before him all of their sick and he healed them, for which they gave thanks and glory to God. All the people so loved this shepherd that they felt as though they themselves had been returned from captivity with him.

There was much animated rejoicing. Everyone in the land fulfilled their oaths made to the Lord God so that

the spiritual treasure and patriarch who had been established for them, would return. And God fulfilled their requests, their painful orphanhood he dispelled, and again consoled them through their kindhearted father's doctrine. All became joyful and their dismal sorrow was replaced with happiness. Even king Arshak went out to meet him, [g118] [110] as far as the Bak'aser areas, and thence with great gladness they returned. And the morals of the land, the orders and precepts of the churches began to be renewed and to shine.

Now when the patriarch Nerses came to Armenia, he evaluated his *locum tenens* the blessed Xad, [and observed] that he had stood for truth and propriety and travelled the path of the Lord God, straying neither to the right nor to the left. [Nerses] offered many thanks to God that he found his spiritual son Xad [had acted] as he had wanted, in accordance with his wishes. He found him as he wished. But when Xad told him about all the impieties and the crooked path of wickedness that the king had travelled, he was saddened and mourned and wept, lamenting with excess and with very deep sighs. [He was concerned] especially about the city of Arshakawan, since it had been built with impiety, wickedness, ravishment, and many sins.

So the blessed patriarch Nerses went to the king and spoke with him, saying: "Why have you forgotten the Lord and abandoned His commandments, the Creator Who created everything out of nothing, the Father of orphans and the judge for widows, Who for our sake [111] descended into poverty, Who does not abandon the poor but in His humanity has nourished them? God is the righteous judge, the mighty, the broad-minded Who heeds all the downtrodden and accepts no contempt. How and why did you dare to scorn His commandments? Was your father not betrayed into ruination for such impudence? But you still have not remembered Him Who did not recall the sins of your father, but placed you in his position, that is [granting] you your father's throne and crown. But you have begun to be impious before the Lord your God and dare to openly boast as you relate your impudence, impiety and injustice so like that of the Sodomites. The entire country is weeping and lamenting for those dispossessions and ravishments by which you wanted to grow great. You were not satiated by the great and extensive abundance of the realms given to you by Christ, the Lord of all [g119].

Now heed what I tell you and do it to try to preserve yourself and spare yourself from the wrath of God. Let not the wretched land of Armenia be lost because of you. For I have seen in a vision that destruction and demolition is about to come over the ruined land of Armenia. Now command that that place [Arshakawan], [112] be completely demolished, and that the people whom you assembled be dispersed to their own places, and that each return what he owes, so that you will not be plunged into the depths of wicked anger and be destroyed. As for the sins which you have committed we will command all the land to fast and supplicate for you and we shall enter into atonement with you. Who knows, maybe the Lord will forgive the unbelievable sins which you have committed. If you are so desirous of having that place [Arshakawan], I myself will [re]build it with justice, and keep it flourishing before you."

Now the king ridiculed and scoffed at the *kat'oghikos'* words. But [Nerses] becoming even angrier, repeated: "Know, oh king, that all this was prophesied by the prophets of God, saying: "Woe is him who builds his house, not with justice, and constructs the upper story not with right," and "They will lament, saying, woe to him who greedily seizes what is not his, for if they be beautiful and very great houses, they will turn to ruin, and no human will dwell in them. Rather, they will be pasture for flocks, resting places for beasts, dens for wild animals, lairs for hyenas, rabbits, and foxes, nests for cranes and ravens, and fields for sowing. Thus will the works of your hand be ruined, and not be [re]built, and all the impious inhabitants will perish in them. They will become resting places for oxen, pasture for [113] onagers, and foxes will enter and exit their floors. They will not be [re]built nor inhabited for eternity."

So spoke the patriarch Nerses. He left the king and went and circulated throughout the districts teaching, arranging, correcting and confirming the churches in [g120] all the districts of Armenia. Three days after the venerable Nerses had spoken these words the Lord subjected the town of Arshakawan to misfortunes. Ulcers, or what others call pestilence, started to afflict [the inhabitants] appearing on people and animals. These tribulations were visited upon them no more than three days, until [the city] was devoid of people. Of 20,000

households not a single person remained alive. For they all perished and were destroyed suddenly, and death was general.

After this the king himself sought out the patriarch Nerses. Finding him, [Arshak] requested that he offer prayers for him lest he too perish (for he was quite terrified). Then [114] the archbishop Nerses began to speak with the king, saying: "Because the righteous and the sinners are mixed together in this land, the sinners are temporarily spared because of the righteous. It is because of the righteous that the lives of the sinners are prolonged in this land. Just as the weed, sown by the enemy in the midst of clean grain, grows together with it and is spared (so that in plucking out the weed the grain is not also pulled out), so the weed, as the grain is temporarily nourished by the dew, the rain, irrigation, warmth, and the bright light of the sun. So it will continue until harvest time when the harvest of grain is reaped and gathered into the granaries of the Kingdom, while the weed is thrown into eternal fire and burned. This reaping takes place at the end of time [g121] when the Son of God will come and will order the heavenly *mshaks* who descend Him, to harvest all those who have reposed in the grave and [at that time] come forth. Then will He choose. The righteous, like the grain, He will take with Him to the Kingdom while the sinners, like the weed, He will order cast into the eternal inextinguishable fires.

"Now you, even before the harvest has begun, weeded the tares from the grain, and prematurely gathered them without the grain. And so prematurely the fire came and destroyed the weeds [115] which were gathered together. But beware lest you and this land be destroyed on your account." The king, on bended knees, beseechingly requested that [Nerses] be reconciled with him, and he made a vow that he would never again deviate from [Nerses'] word.

14.

Concerning the mardpet Hayr who came down from the district of Taron, went to the place of prayers iin Ashtishat, and departed thence condemned by the words of his own mouth; how since he deserved to die he was done away with by Shawasp Arcruni.

Now the *mardpet* Hayr was a man more wicked and morally foul, more impious and unjust than the previous *mardpets*, styled "Hayr" ["Father"]. It was he who destroyed all the *azgs* of *naxarars* in the period of the reign of king Tiran; and similarly, during the reign of Arshak, he committed even more evils toward everyone than anyone [had]. Now he went and circulated about his *mardpetut'iwn*, and Hayr *mardpet* descended into the district of Taron to see his villages.

At that time the blessed Nerses was circulating about his own [area] of authority. For they held those fifteen districts under [g122] their personal authority as *sephakan*, as was natural; they had been stipulated as their's privately. And the principal of those [116] districts were as follows:

Ayrarat,
Daranaghe,
Ekegheac',
Taron,
Bznunik',
Cop'k',

and what was within and around them. Now when Hayr *mardpet* went to circulate about his principality, the blessed *kat'oghikos* Nerses had also gone to that foremost place where Gregory had built the first church and the tombs of the martyrs to perform the memorial [services] for the saints. It happened that Hayr *mardpet* was crossing those places and wanted to go to the blessed places of Ashtishat to pray and to receive a greeting

from the holy archbishop Nerses. They prayed and greeted each other. Then the blessed patriarch Nerses ordered that a meal be prepared for those who had arrived. While they were preparing something befitting his senior status, [Hayr] went for a walk from the episcopal residence to the chapels of the saints, strolling in the large and beautiful [117] place. When he saw the beauty of those places, its lofty elevation and the view which stretched out below (which was very captivating), he placed [his] evil eye on it.

Then the eunuch [returned], entered [the dining room], sat down and began eating and drinking. When he was good and drunk he started speaking arrogantly and presumptuously. He insulted king Trdat, and the dead and living Armenian kings of the Arsacid *azg*, race, and *tohm*. He said: "Why were such places as these given not to men, but to people wearing women's dress?" Scorning and deriding the holy places, he continued: "We shall demolish these places, for a royal mansion should be built here. And if I, Hayr *mardpet*, return alive to the king, I will replace what is here, remove the people here, and construct a royal chamber" [g123].

When the blessed archbishop heard this, he said: "Our Lord Jesus Christ first chose this place to bear His name, by which name every place is glorified together with His Father and the Holy Spirit. He commanded [us] not to covet or desire the belongings [118] of another. Now whoever greedily desires and covets what has been dedicated to Him, that person will not achieve what he has threatened; rather, his many sins will hinder the intention." After this Hayr *mardpet* left the holy places, and descended to the banks of the Euphrates river, in a valley dense with forests of wild-plum trees, near the confluence of two rivers where in ancient times Sanatruk the king had built the city named Mcurm.

Now when he reached this place the judgement of the Lord's anger was visited upon the impious Hayr for his deeds and words. He was betrayed into the hands of a man named Shawasp, a remnant of the Arcrunik' *azg*. While [Hayr] was seated in a wagon and was travelling on the road, Shawasp approached and began to tell the *mardpet* a fictitious story, saying: "I saw a bear as white as the snow." And he charmed the *mardpet* into getting out of the wagon, and mounting a steed. Then they entered the forest and lay in wait. When they were in the bushes, Shawasp remained somewhat behind. He hit the eunuch Hayr with an arrow from behind that went right through him. [Hayr] fell to the ground and perished. Thus the words of the man of God had been fulfilled immediately. For no word of [a] man of God falls [unheeded] to the ground [g124]. [119]

15.

Concerning king Arshak, how he killed his brother's son Gnel because of the slander of Tirit'; how he was rebuked and upbraided by the man of God Nerses; how he killed that same Tirit'; how king Arshak took the wife of Gnel after killing him; how he later brought a wife named Oghimb, from Byzantium and how the court priest Mrjiwnik killed her with a fatal poison in the Eucharist, at the instigation of P'arhanjem.

In those times there was a beautiful [woman] named P'arhanjem who was the daughter of a certain Andovk, one of the *naxarars* of the *nahapet* of Siwnik'. She was extremely well known for her beauty and modesty. The lad Gnel, the king's nephew (brother's son) married her. The girl's renown for beauty spread about, and her reputation as a beauty grew and increased. Now another of Gnel's cousins (father's brother's son) named Tirit' became passionately inflamed [for her] and so concealed [his desire] until he was able to make her his. After [Tirit'] had attained his wish and had seen [P'arhanjem], he sought means by which he might destroy her husband so that afterwards he might be able to ravish her.

Tirit' began to think up treacherous stratagems, and he hired many assistants and supporters to carry forward his slander. He treacherously spoke false slander about Gnel to king Arshak, saying: "Gnel wants to rule, and to kill you. All the grandees, [120] the *naxarars* and the *azats* like Gnel and all the *naxarars* of the land prefer his lordship over them than yours. Now they say, 'look and see what you do, king, so that you can save

yourself" [g125]. Thus did they agitate king Arshak with such words until they had confirmed their statements in the king's mind.

P'awstos Buzandac'i's

History of the Armenians

Book Four

Chapter 15. (Continued from Previous Page)

The king thus had a grudge against the lad Gnel, frequently persecuted him, and was plotting treachery [against him] for a long time. Around the Nawasard [festival] time [*Nawasard*: the first month of the ancient Armenian calendar, August] king Arshak planned to summon the lad Gnel and to kill him. So he sent Vardan, brother of the *sparapet*, *nahapet* of the *azg* of the Mamikonean *tohm* to try to summon [Gnel] with a great oath, treacherously, so that the plot would not be revealed and that [Gnel] would not flee and survive. Rather [Arshak hoped] that [Gnel] would be led to the place of [his] death deceived and charmed. The king's *banak* was at Shahapivan in the native camping place of the Arsacids, below the walled hunting preserve and above the arena. King Arshak sent Vardan the great *nahapet* who came and found the lad Gnel in a nearby place, [121] that is, in the village called Arhawiwtk'. With a great vow and much deception [Vardan] convinced the lad Gnel, his wife and court to go to the royal *banak*, saying that the king was summoning him for some great exaltation: "King Arshak does not want to pass the feast of Nawasard without you. He is well-disposed and kindly toward you, for despite the words of the slanderers, he had found no evil in you. He has become convinced that it was wrong for him to hate you; rather, that you are deserving of affection from him."

Gnel travelled with great speed throughout the entire night with all of his organization, to reach the royal *banak*. For at daybreak of the next morning, Sunday, began the feast day in honor of the great John [the Baptist] which had been designated by Gregory and Trdat in the *awan* of Bagawan. To that commemoration [came] lay people who had assembled, many bishops from different districts, and the great archbishop sent [g126] his co-adjutor Xad in his place, as well as his episcopal archdeacon named Murik, to go and do what had to be done there. He himself remained in the royal [122] *banak* to perform the communion there. That evening the great night service was conducted there in the *banak* in the presence of the *kat'oghikos*.

Now at daybreak Gnel's battalion reached the royal *banak*, and when he entered, the king was informed of his arrival. An order was issued from the court that he be held outside, taken and killed. While [Gnel], mounted on his horse, was coming into the *banak*, as he approached the royal concourse, many attendants came forth from the court—armed swordsmen, spearmen, sabre-bearers, axemen, armed with bayonets, and infantrymen bearing shields. They approached the lad Gnel, seized him and threw him from his horse, tied back his arms, and took him to the place of execution. Now his wife had come in her husband's battalion in a palanquin. When she saw that they had seized and bound him, she quickly rushed to the people in the camp chapel when morning prayers were being offered to God by the people of the *banak* and where the great [123] archbishop Nerses was. The woman reached the archbishop and screamed loudly the bad news to him about the unjust loss of her husband. She cried: "Hurry and come, they are still murdering my husband without him committing any crime or misdeed." Now [Nerses] interrupted the service and rushed to the royal tent and passed through the door to the king. When the king saw the great chief priest, knowing that he had come to intercede for [Gnel's] life, he pulled his sable over his head and proceeded to grunt with his face covered, as though asleep, so that he would not have to hear [Nerses'] words [g127].

The blessed Nerses shook the king and spoke, saying: "King, remember your Lord Who out of love for us descended from His natural heights and became a brother to us, His unworthy servants. This was done for no other reason than to be the *vardapet* of love, so that we spare each other, looking to the divine *vardapet* and

love each other in piety, and so that we dare not harm each other. Now if you do not spare your brother, co-servant, comrade and *harazat*, the Lord Who willingly became our brother, will not spare you. [124] For He said this to us: 'He who hears you, hears me; he who accepts you, accepts me; but he who dishonors you, dishonors me.' Heed Christ Who now is speaking with you through us, so that you not be ruined, fall from your kingdom, and wander about merely alive, but without anyone to help you. Now heed Christ and save yourself. Do not shed the blood of your *harazat* brother and kill a righteous [man] in merciless injustice."

But the king, having become fossilized, did not listen. He did not uncover his face of the shirts and did not want to respond. Rather, he remained covered and wrapped up in one side of his chair, and did not even want to move. While [Nerses] was saying these words of entreaty to the king, the chief executioner, Erazmak, entered the royal tent and began to relate: "I have fulfilled all the royal commands. I took Gnel as far as the wall of the [horse] arena, killed him, and buried him there."

[125] Then the blessed Nerses began to speak: "Just as the basilisk-snake shut its ears so as not to hear the voice of the skilled sorcerer, and not to take the medicine from the wise dispenser of medicine, so you have shut your ears and blocked your hearing so as not to hear the beneficial words of [g128] divine wisdom; rather, with the behavior of a beast, you have begun to devour human flesh. So what was said about the beasts will be visited upon you: 'God will crush their teeth in their mouths and smash the lions' claws.' Because you went against the command of Christ your Lord, you will become as dishonored as spilled water, and will weaken when He strings the bow. And the destruction which the prophet spoke of will be visited upon you. The *azg* of the Arsacids will drink the last cup; will drink, become drunk, be destroyed, and never be restored again. When the Lord comes, the threat of eternal fire will be visited upon you, you will fall into the darkness and never again see the sun of the glory of the Son of God. You, Arshak, because you committed the act of Cain, will receive the curse of Cain. Alive, you will fall from your kingdom, will be tormented more than your father Tiran was, and will end your life with a bitter death, in great suffering."

[126] When the great chief-priest Nerses had said all this to the king, he left him and did not return to that *banak*. They had taken the lad Gnel close to the royal arena and executed him on the hill of the mountain named Lsin, close to the wall of the enclosed hunting ground, opposite the *bun* camping ground across from the myrtle-grove [where] the fountains [and] the royal benches were.

Then the king issued an order for everyone in the *banak* great and small, that all of them without exception should go and mournfully lament the killing of Gnel the great Arsacid *sepuh*. The king himself went to weep and sat there crying for the nephew whom he himself had killed. He went and sat near the corpse weeping and commanded that a great mourning be held near the body. P'aranjem, the wife of the slain man, tore her clothes [g129] and with her hair disheveled and her breasts bared, sobbed in the lamentation, screaming, piteously crying and making everyone weep. Now king Arshak, weeping, saw the wife of the slain, lusted [127] for her, and kept his eye on her, to make her his wife.

Now Tirit' who had plotted that vengeful treachery against his *harazat* had done this because of [Gnel's] wife with whom he was greatly in love. He got the king to accomplish the treacherous murder. Now when the mourning had become more intense, Tirit' was unable to control his lust. He sent a messenger to the wife of the dead man, saying: "Do not mourn so much, for I am a better man than he was. I loved you and therefore betrayed him to death, so that I could take you in marriage." Tirit' sent such a message while the mourners were fanatically weeping around the corpse. [P'aranjem] raised a protest, pulling out her hair and screaming as she mourned: "Listen everyone, the death of my husband occurred because of me. For the one who had an eye on me had my husband killed."

When this important circumstance had been openly revealed to everyone, [P'aranjem] became the head of the professional mourners, and all the professional mourners began to sing the circumstance: Tirit's lust, how he placed his eye on her, the vengeance, the plot of murder, the killing. They moaned and [128] quavered tenderly over the slain man. As they were singing the circumstances were exposed. When king Arshak heard

this, he realized what had happened, investigated, and was stunned, finally grasping the situation. Then he began to speak, striking his hands together and greatly regretting what he had done, saying: "Because Tirit' was seized with undeserving love for Gnel's wife, he plotted this evil, a grudge, and this senseless and [g130] unjust death. And he involved us in the shedding of innocent blood through his abomination. He had his brother destroyed, and made us inherit unbelievable evils and curses which will not go away".

When the king had definitely confirmed and authenticated the circumstances of the case, for a while he was quiet and pretended to do nothing about it. But after the slain man had been buried in the place where he was killed, and after a goodly number of days had passed since the deed was committed, Tirit' sent a message to the king. He said: "King, I want you to order that I be allowed to marry Gnel's wife, P'aranjem." As soon as the king heard this, he said: "Now I know for sure that what I have heard is accurate. Gnel's death occurred for his wife." Then [129] the king plotted to kill Tirit' also, in return for Gnel's murder. When Tirit' learned about this, he was seized with fear of the king, and fled at night. King Arshak was informed of Tirit's flight and ordered the *azatagund* of the *banak* to pursue, catch up with, and kill him on the spot. Many braves went after the fugitive Tirit', caught up with him in the forests of the district of Basen, and killed him there.

After this Arshak himself married P'aranjem, the wife of the slain [Gnel]. But to the degree that king Arshak loved the woman, the woman loathed king Arshak, saying: "Physically, he is hairy, and his color is dark". When king Arshak saw that the woman was not reconciled with him, he sent to the country of Byzantium requesting that a woman by *azg* of the imperial *tohm* be sent him as a wife. Her name was Oghompi [Olympias]. He loved her madly and this stirred the envy of his first wife. P'aranjem therefore had a grudge against Olympias and sought to kill her. But then P'aranjem bore the king a son whom they named Pap. They nourished him and he grew up. When he reached puberty and became robust, they gave him as a hostage to the emperor's court in the country of Byzantium.

[130] However P'aranjem continued in her great envy and grudge toward Olympias and sought to kill her with drugs. But when she was unable to effect anything (since [Olympias] was extremely careful, especially in matters of food and drink, eating only the food offered by her own maids, and drinking only the wine they provided), when [P'aranjem] could find no way of giving her poison, she approached a certain presbyter of the royal court who happened to be there at the time. The impious P'aranjem involved this man, whose name was Mrjiwnik, from the Arshamunik' areas from the *nahang* of Taron district. He committed an unworthy deed, never done before, an indelible, unforgettable evil, deserving of eternal torments, a deed unexampled, unheard of—mixing poison with the potion of Life. They mixed poison with the Lord's holy and divine body, the bread of communion. And the presbyter named Mrjiwnik administered this to queen Olympias in the church, and killed her. For implementing the most evil wishes of the impious P'aranjem, this non-presbyter was granted the village whence he came, a village named Gomkunk' in the *nahang* of the district of Taron.

[131] Now the blessed *kat'oghikos* Nerses did not see king Arshak again until the day of his ruination. In place of Nerses they established a certain Ch'unak as the head of the Christians who was one of the slaves from the court's slaves. Then the king ordered that all the bishops of the land of Armenia be summoned to ordain Ch'unak into the *kat'oghikosate* of Armenia. But no one consented to come. Only the bishops of Aghjnik' and Korduk' came and ordained Ch'unak as *kat'oghikos* according to the king's order. Ch'unak was a discreet man, never advising or reproaching, but agreeing with whatever the king did. [g132]

16.

How Arshak, king of Armenia, was summoned by Shapuh, king of Persia, and how he was honored by him; how the sparapet of the Armenians, Vasak Mamikonean, killed the Persian king's stable-master; how king Arshak swore an oath on the Gospels to the king of Persia; how he later broke his oath and fled; and how

Shapuh slaughtered seventy of God's servitors.

In that period, the king of Iran, Shapuh, summoned Arshak, king of Armenia, and exalted him with much honor, great glory, many treasures of gold and silver, and all the grandeur of the kingdom [Shahpur II (310-379), Arshak (350-367)]. [Arshak] was treated well by him, as a brother or a son, and [Shapuh] gave him the second great *tun* in the land of Atrpatakan. During the period of merry-making, they sat together on one and the same *gah* [throne], wearing clothing of the same color with identical ornaments. [132] Each day the Iranian king prepared identically adorned crowns for both of them. The two of them, like inseparable *harazat* brothers, gorged themselves during the merry-making and were indescribably happy together.

Now it happened one day that Arshak, king of Armenia, went walking in one of the Iranian king's stables. The Iranian king's stable-master was seated inside the stable. When he saw the king, in no way did he exalt him properly or show him honor, but rather, he dishonored him with insults, saying in the Iranian language: "King of the Armenian goats, come and sit on this bale of hay." When these words were heard by the *sparapet* general of Greater Armenia whose name was Vasak of the Mamikonean *tohm*, he became greatly irritated and angered. He drew the sword which he had at his waist and beheaded the Iranian king's stable-master right there in the stable. [g133] For he was unable to hear or bear the insults to his king, many times regarding it better to die than to hear evil insults hurled at his lord. He did such a deed suddenly and fearlessly [even though] they were in the land of Iran, in another's place, in another's concourse. Now when the king of Iran heard about this, he expressed great thanks to [133] general Vasak, marvelling at his brave-heartedness and courageousness. And he greatly rewarded him, making him worthy of much honor, as he praised his bravery and love for his master. As a result of that deed [Shapuh] felt great affection for [Vasak], honored him in accordance with his worth, and exalted him every day so that there was reconciliation and peace between them.

Now while the king of Armenia was with the king of Iran and there was great affection and peace between them, Shapuh, the king of Iran, nonetheless feared that perhaps Arshak, king of Armenia, would violate that affection, might unite with the Byzantine emperor, or somehow be pried away from him. He did not believe that [Arshak] would preserve the intimate affection he had for him or remain true to the oath of alliance with him. Therefore he requested a vow from him and intensely pressured him, saying: "Consent and vow to me according to your faith that you will not be false to me." Under severe pressure and insistent force [Arshak] became harassed. They commanded that priests from the church of the city of Ctesiphon (the leader of whom was Mari) be summoned. They brought the blessed Gospel and Shapuh, the king of Iran, had Arshak, king of Armenia, swear on the divine Gospel that [134] he would never again break his vow to him, but keep his oath and preserve his treaty. Since the intermediary in these matters was Vardan, the *tanuter nahapet* of the Mamikonean *tohm* and the senior brother of Vasak the *sparapet*, king Shapuh felt great affection for him. But his brother Vasak the general of Armenia was envious of his senior brother Vardan. [g134] He wanted to create a disturbance between Arshak king of Armenia [and the king of Iran] [Translator's note: Apparently a page is missing which described Vasak's actions. The text resumes with the king speaking with Mari and the priests.]... and flee. But Shapuh said: "If you made the vow sincerely, how could he oppose it or flee. Rather, I know that you deceived me through witchcraft. You liked the one who holds your faith, you treacherously plotted with him, making him flee. You too want the Arsacid lordship over you, and sought for this."

And king Shapuh vowed by the sun, water, and fire, that he would not permit a single Christian man to live. He ordered that they all be taken and killed. They took their leader, the presbyter Mari, and other priests and deacons (more than seventy men) and killed them all together in one ditch. And [Shapuh] ordered that the blessed Gospel on which king Arshak had vowed should be bound with an iron [135] chain, sealed with his ring, and kept carefully.

How Shapuh, king of Iran, initiated a persecution against those of the Christian faith.

When the presbyter Mari and the seventy others were killed, king Shapuh began a great persecution of members of the Christian faith. He oppressed them with taxes, diverse sorrows and blows. Then he issued an order throughout all the places under his sway: "Whoever under my authority even bears the name of a Christian shall be removed and put to the sword, so that there will be no one under my authority who calls himself a Christian." [g135] So they destroyed myriads upon myriads and thousands upon thousands, for such was the king's order, that no Christian reside within his borders.

18.

The death of Vardan which was caused by king Arshak, through the treachery of his own brother Vasak.

Now Vardan, the *tanuter* of the Mamikonean *tohm*, came on a mission from the king of Iran to king Arshak of Armenia, and presented him with the *hrovartak*. And he told him about [Shapuh's] words of peace and reconciliation and the confirmation by oaths. And he presented the message: "The crime in what has occurred will be overlooked, but after this stand firm in the vow and do not [136] transgress the oath you swore according to your faith. Otherwise know that you have violated your faith." Now king Arshak received and heard the message with affection and believed what had been said. He peacefully released the great *nahapet* to his *tun* so that he might go and rest from the fatigue of the long journey. And [Vardan] went.

When the *nahapet* Vardan had come to Arshak, his younger brother, Vasak, was not with the king. But subsequently Vasak arrived and stirred the king up against his senior brother, saying: "It was Vardan who betrayed you to the Iranian king and wants to destroy you. If you do not hurry and kill him immediately, you and the land of Armenia will be lost." Furthermore, [Arshak's] wife also aroused the king with similar words and made him accept general Vasak's words as reliable. For [P'aranjem] held a grudge against Vardan since it was this Vardan who had treacherously, fraudulently, and with a great oath summoned her husband Gnel for king Arshak to kill. Because the woman had kept her grudge against Vardan she even more provoked the king against him. [g136] Indeed, a force was assembled against Vardan to go and kill him, and his own brother Vasak went to effect it.

[137] They went and found him in his district of Tayk', in his secure fortress which was named Eraxani. When [Vardan's people] saw that it was Vasak's brigade, they neither feared, took precautions nor felt any doubt. They reasoned that since it was the force of [Vardan's] brother, he had come in peace. So [Vasak's troops] came and descended to the door of the tent, since [Vardan] had pitched his tent in the valley, at the foot of the fortress. Vasak's troops were all secretly armed, wearing their [regular] clothing on top. While [Vardan], naked, was washing his head, many men with swords reached him, and stabbed him as he was bent over to pour water over himself. He did not even have time to arise, since they struck and killed him from the side.

[Vardan's] wife was pregnant, and the day of delivery had arrived. While she was seated on her chair in the upper part of the fortress, the terrible news came. When she heard the bad news, she jumped from her chair and as she ran, the baby was born. The child was named after its father, Vardan.

19.

How Arshak, king of Armenia, senselessly and indiscriminately moved to kill the naxarars.

[138] Now when the blessed archbishop Nerses had quit the royal *banak*, there was no one to reproach the king or give him contrary counsel, and so [Arshak] went along according to his evil wishes. He destroyed many of the *naxarars*, extirpated many *azgs*, and confiscated many *tuns* for the court. He extirpated the *tohms* of the Kamsarakans who were the lords of districts, of Shirak and Arsharunik', and he made [their] districts *ostan* [g137].

However, the general of Armenia, the *sparapet* Vasak concealed and saved a tiny child from that *azg*, named Spandarad, who subsequently became the inheritor of [their] land. King Arshak ordered that a secure fortress be constructed for him in the district of Arsharunik', a fortress named Artagers. And he laid in store victuals in preparation for the district in the fortress, since that fortress was extremely secure.

20.

How the war between Byzantium and Iran intensified; how the king of Armenia, Arshak, allied with the king of Iran and put the Byzantines to the sword; and how, through the treachery of Andovk Siwni, Arshak fled to Shapuh, king of Iran.

Previously when king Arshak had fled from king Shapuh and dishonored him through his vow, Shapuh, the king of Iran, tried no severity [in dealing] with him, for there was still intense warfare between himself and the emperor of Byzantium. As the war dragged on, king Arshak of Armenia conceitedly waited to see which of them would call him to aid them in fighting. He enthusiastically wanted to go to the aid of the emperor of Byzantium, but [the Byzantines] did not call on, magnify or exalt him.

But the Iranian king Shapuh sent messages of peace to him, reminding him of his previous vow, saying: "Your brother wants you to come and help him fight with your brigade. I know that if you are on our side, we shall triumph." Now when Arshak, the king of Armenia, heard this, with great joy he wanted to go to aid and assist Shapuh, king of Iran. So he ordered his *sparapet*, Vasak, to assemble a brigade and prepare troops. [Vasak] [g138] quickly implemented the king's orders. [He assembled] 400,000 well armed troops of select warriors full of manly heroism: spearmen, swordsmen, powerful archers who did not miss their mark, men with sabres and battle-axes who were fearless before champions, [140] the entire cavalry wearing armor, with helmets, banners, with notable multi-sounding trumpets.

King Arshak with a multitude of *naxarars* went through his principality, through Aghjnik', and came out into the Aruac'astan country, opposite the city of Mcbin (Nisibis), which was to be the battle site. Now when [the Armenians] arrived at the place and time designated for the battle between the two sides, they saw that the Byzantine troops had already arrived and encamped in a multitude as dense as the sand on the seashore, while the Iranian troops had not yet come. The troops of the king of Armenia arrived before the Iranians and waited in place. Now the Armenian troops grew restless with waiting and did not want to wait for or heed the Iranian troops, but rather wanted to attack the Byzantine king themselves and wage war without the Iranians. Every man of the Armenian troops, self-willed and unbridled, moved forth. This was especially true of their general Vasak, who, more than anyone, was going back and forth unrestrained, unwilling to wait for the Iranians to come. Rather, he wanted them to wage the war themselves.

P'awstos Buzandac'i's

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[141] Then all the Armenian troops moved forward and beseeched their king Arshak not to restrain them until the Iranian king Shapuh arrived. Rather, he should let them accomplish that which they had come to do, and let them attack [the Byzantines]. For they were impatient waiting in a foreign land and considered it better to die than to wait there [g139]. So king Arshak allowed it, and went against [the Byzantines] in war. Vasak, the general and *sparapet* of Greater Armenia, arranged, organized and prepared all the Armenian troops. He armed and at the appointed time went against the army together with all the military forces of the Ayraratean *gund*. They put all of them to the sword, so much so that not a single [Byzantine soldier] survived. Then [the Armenians] took the loot and booty of the Byzantine troops, and there was no estimating how much they loaded up with treasures or countless great articles of loot.

After this the king of Armenia remained there with his troops until Shapuh, king of Iran, arrived with countless, immeasurable Iranian troops. When he observed the bravery of the deed of the Armenian troops, how they fought, won and resolved the battle, he was very surprised. And [Shapuh] greatly honored king Arshak of Armenia and [142] all the Armenian grandees, as well as Vasak, the *sparapet* of Armenia.

King Shapuh of Iran then began asking his troops regarding what good gifts or what reward he could give Arshak, king of Armenia, for having accomplished such a deed, displaying such bravery, attacking such an enemy, waging such a battle and winning it as well as receiving such a good name. "For," he said, "we, the entire Aryan forces would have been able to do this with their help, but now the king of Armenia instead of us accomplished such bravery that none other could accomplish. Now what fitting reward can [g140] we give him?" Thus he pondered what they should give him. The Iranian king Shapuh's *naxarars* told him: "Give him anything you think will please him, much of your gold, silver, silk, and pearls". The Iranian king Shapuh replied to his princes: "What you suggest does not display [sufficient] affection. Rather, come, let us establish unshakable affection between ourselves and king Arshak of Armenia, such that he will be unseparable from us for eternity. I will give king Arshak of Armenia my daughter in marriage and a great *tun*, such a *tun* so that when he comes to us from Armenia as far as Ctesiphon, he will lodge within his own *tun*. Let us [143] give this to the king. As for general Vasak and the other grandees and generals, let us give them the gold, silver, silk, and pearls." The Iranian king's grandees and counselors approved of this plan and confirmed that it was fitting to do it.

Then king Shapuh of Iran greatly pressured king Arshak of Armenia to go with him to Asorestan so that he might exalt him there with very glorious honor and by making him his son-in-law. But king Arshak and all of his troops were annoyed [at the prospects] of going on such a long journey, for each of them, after the custom of Armenians, longed for his own *tun* and his own customary place. Now when Andovk, the *nahapet* of the district of Siwnik', learned that king Shapuh of Iran wanted to marry his daughter to king Arshak of Armenia, he was very frightened and his mind was wracked with suspicions that when the Iranian king gave Arshak his daughter, his own daughter [P'arhanjem] would be dishonored afterwards. For at that time Andovk's daughter, P'arhanjem (who had been Gnel's wife), was the wife of king Arshak of Armenia, and [Andovk] suspected that as soon as [Arshak] took another [wife], his [daughter] would be dishonored [g141].

[144] Andovk then fell to thinking to find some ruse by which he could destroy the great affection which had blossomed between the two kings. First, Andovk presented much gold to Vasak, the general of Armenia, and he similarly bribed all the grandees, to devise some way of destroying the great affection between the two kings. All the grandees accepted, blinded by the gold with which they had been bribed. Then Andovk approached a certain one of the seniors of the Iranian king, making him one of his inner and central counselors in this matter so that he would through any means—treachery, deceit, or caprice—create tension between Shapuh, king of Iran, and Arshak. Andovk gave him a huge, inestimable amount of gold and told him to say, as an informer to king Arshak: "Look out for your life, for truly the king of Iran has planned to seize and kill you." Andovk continued: "When you have said this, get [Arshak] to summon us to a council, and the nobility will confirm your words."

The counselor of the Iranian king then went to the king of Armenia and began to speak the words which the malefactor Andovk had put in his mouth, saying: "Arshak, king of Armenia, look out [145] for your life, for Shapuh, the king of Iran plans to seize and kill you." King Arshak was stunned by these words and said: "Is that the reward I am to receive from him for my great labors?" Then king Arshak ordered all of his grandees summoned into his presence and all of his counselors, and the *sparapet* Vasak and his father-in-law Andovk and, generally, all of the *naxarars*. Then he told them what he had just heard from that Iranian. They all replied together: "We heard that long ago, but did not dare to tell you. However those words are correct. Now, king, see what you can do to save yourself and us." King Arshak then gave the Iranian who had told him many gifts of gold and silver treasures [g142]. [The Armenians] organized and prepared themselves, and king Arshak of Armenia thought. Everyone in the Armenian *banak* then arose at night, mounted, and fled. Leaving behind the tents, pavilions, furniture, goods, equipage and *banak*, they departed stealthily. And no one in the Iranian *banak* knew about this until morning.

When it was the hour to bid good morning to the Iranian king, all the kings, and his grandee princes came to greet the Iranian king [146] but nowhere among them was the king of Armenia, Arshak, with his grandees. So Shapuh the king of Iran ordered his men to go and see what had occurred in the *banak* of Arshak, king of Armenia, that he had so delayed in coming to bid good morning to the king of Iran, Shapuh. They went and saw that the *banak* was empty and without people, for [the Armenians] had left their pavilions, tents, canopies, hangings, *gahs*, beds, furniture, baggage and equipage, and even their treasures. They had taken only their weapons, borne aloft, and departed. Those who had gone to the *banak* returned and related everything to Shapuh, the king of Iran. When Shapuh heard this (since he was a wise man) he realized in his wisdom that the flight of the Armenian king was the result [of something done] by one of his own men. "For," he said, "that man Arshak was made to flee by people from among our court here." So he sent many of his senior grandees on a mission, galloping after the king of Armenia [bearing with them the promise] of a vow of affectionate alliance and a reproach that [the Armenians] return so that they examine the slander and rebuke it. But the Armenian king did not want to listen to the words of the messengers of Shapuh, the king of Iran, and they did not turn back to the land of Iran. From that day forth warfare and the agitation of battles [147] stirred between the king of Armenia, Arshak, and Shapuh, king of Iran. [It continued] for more than thirty years [g143].

21.

How warfare took place between king Shapuh of Iran and Arshak, king of the Armenians, and how Arshak triumphed.

Now eight years after king Arshak of Armenia had fled from king Shapuh of Iran, the Iranian king desisted from hostility. He spoke with true entreaty, affectionately beseeching king Arshak of Armenia to be reconciled and united with him through an oath of peace. For the Iranian king was then in great agitated danger from the frequent and incessant wars waged by the Byzantine emperors. However, king Arshak of

Armenia in no way wanted to listen to or approach him, to send emissaries, give gifts, approach him, be associated with him, or even hear his name. On the other hand, the king of Iran was constantly sending [Arshak] gifts and emissaries while he himself fervently did battle with the Byzantine emperors.

Now it happened that peace came about between the emperors of Byzantium and king Shapuh of Iran. The Byzantine emperor wrote, sealed, and sent the following peace treaty to the king of Iran: [148] "I give you the city of Nisibis (which is in Aruestan) as well as Syrian Mesopotamia. Furthermore I will vacate the interior of Armenia. Conquer them if you can and place them in your service. I will not come to their aid." For the emperor of Byzantium had become distressed, and in his sorrowful distress he sealed such a contract, gave it to the Iranian king, and thus got free of him.

Now when there was peace between the emperor of Byzantium and the king of Iran, king Shapuh organized his troops and went against king Arshak of Armenia in war. The border-guards of the Armenian king who were in Ganjak in Atrpatakan, [g144] informed [Arshak] of what was happening before [Shapuh] reached the borders of Atrpatakan. When king Arshak of Armenia learned about this, he commanded his *sparapet* Vasak to organize all of his troops and go against the Iranian king Shapuh. *Sparapet* Vasak quickly assembled and reviewed all of the Armenian troops. There were 60,000 cavalrymen, well-armed, with spears, who were united—of one heart and one mind. With them *sparapet* Vasak advanced and struck the [149] [forces of] the Iranian king, putting all the troops to the sword.

Only Shapuh the Iranian king escaped on a horse and fled. [The Armenians] reached, enslaved, and burned the entire country of Iran. And they held the site of the battle, that is, they kept the borders of Iran.

22.

How after this there was warfare with the Iranians in three parts of the country of the Armenians, at the very same time, on the same day of the same month, and how in these three cases as well, the Armenians were victorious.

In that period Shapuh, the king of Iran, assembled his forces, as countless and immeasurable as sand on the seashore, with an inestimable number of elephants. He then divided the troops into three parts. He designated Andikan and Hazarawuxt the military commanders of two brigades, while the king himself commanded one brigade. The king commanded the troops to go enter and invade the land of Armenia in three places. But this information was quickly learned by king Arshak of Armenia and by his general, Vasak. They in turn assembled many troops from the land, a countless multitude. Although they greatly hurried, the Iranian troops had already invaded the country of Armenia, raiding from three directions.

[150] So king Arshak divided his troops into three parts. He [g145] entrusted one brigade to *sparapet* Vasak. The second brigade was entrusted to his brother Bagas, [or, Bagos] who was incredibly courageous but not very bright. King Arshak himself led the other brigade. He ordered that they should advance to meet up with the Iranian troops. *Sparapet* Vasak came and found Hazarawuxt and the first of the Iranian fronts which had come as far as the district of Vanand to the place known as Ereweal. He clashed with them in war, defeating the Iranian troops who turned to flight and dispersed. But general Vasak pursued and killed all the fugitive troops, and [the Armenians] got much loot and elephants.

On the same day of the same week of the same month, Bagos and the troops under him located the second Iranian front under Andikan the military commander, encamped near the fisheries of Arhest. However, the Iranian troops were quickly informed of Bagos' arrival and prepared to wage war against the Armenian troops. Then Bagos with his entire brigade attacked the Iranian front, and killed all of the Iranian troops there, including Andikan. [151] Now Bagos chanced upon a brigade of elephants, and noticed that one of the elephants was greatly adorned and bore royal insignia. Thinking that the king was on that elephant, [Bagos]

dismounted from his horse, took out his sword and attacked the elephant. He went under the elephant, raised the weapon and stuck it into the elephant's body. But the elephant fell upon [Bagos], and both of them perished, since he was unable to get out from under the elephant in time. In that battle [of the Armenians], only Bagos, the military commander of the troops died; but as for the Iranians, not a single one of them survived.

Now in the same year, the same week, the same day [g146]—since these three battles took place on the same day—king Arshak and the troops under him found king Shapuh himself who had come and encamped in the district of Basen, in the place called Oxa [or, Oxa]. King Arshak fell upon the Iranian *banak* at night and put them all to the sword. Shapuh the king was the only one who escaped, barely, fleeing to the land of Iran on a horse. Then messengers bearing the glad tidings of the victories of the three brigades, met each other. Aside from Bagos, who had died in one of the battles, not a single one [of the Armenians] had been killed. Great assistance in the victory had come from God. [The Armenian troops] then raided the Iranian areas, striking [152] as far as the area called Xartizan. They loaded up with many treasures, weapons, ornaments, much loot, incalculable greatness, and were enriched beyond measure.

23.

Concerning how Meruzhan Arcruni rebelled against king Arshak of Armenia, fell in with the king of the Iranians, and further aggravated the conflict; and how he apostasized God and thereafter became an obstacle for the country of Armenia.

In that period, one of the grandee *naxarars* named Meruzhan Arcruni rebelled from the king of Armenia, went before Shapuh, king of Iran, and swore an oath that he would be his servant forever. First [Meruzhan] apostasized his own life, for he had been a believer in God, but he abandoned the Christian faith and confessed that he was not Christian. And he accepted the faith of Mazdaism, that is, of the mages, worshipping the sun and the fire and confessing that whatever the king of Iran worshipped were the gods. Then he [g147] made a vow with Shapuh, king of Iran that : "If Shapuh can and does conquer and hold the land of Armenia, and if I return to my land and my *tun*, I will first build an *atrushan* (that is, a temple for worshipping the fire) in my *sephakan tun*". [153] And he put his life and death along with theirs, in word and deed. They prepared even more Iranian troops than before to raid Armenia, and the malefactor Meruzhan was their leader. Under the leadership of Meruzhan, the country of Armenia was burned and pillaged: men were trampled by elephants, women were impaled on wagons' stakes, and they took and killed all the inhabitants of the upper districts of Armenia.

While king Arshak was still in the area of the lower districts in Angeghtun [seeing about] provisions, the Iranian troops were demolishing and digging up the central parts of the land. So the general of Armenia, Vasak, called up the troops. He then had 10,000 select, brave cavalymen which he organized and prepared. He went with them, hurrying to meet the Iranian troops. Now when the generals of the Iranian king's troops learned that the general of Armenia, Vasak, had massed troops [and was coming] against them, they plundered and enslaved those remaining in the land and fled to their [154] own land at great speed. But Vasak Mamikonean went swiftly after them, catching up as they were going over the Atrpatakan border. Now the troops of the king of Iran left the captives and fled with Meruzhan. After freeing a countless, immeasurable host, all who had been taken in captivity, [Vasak and the troops] returned in peace to king Arshak [g148].

24.

How Meruzhan rebelled, provoked king Shapuh of Iran into further military actions; and how he became a leader for the Iranian king Shapuh, conducted bandit raids into the land of Armenia; and how he captured

the bones of the Arsacid kings. How Vasak, the general of Armenia, freed what had been captured and defeated the enemy.

After this the infamous Meruzhan in great anger provoked the Iranian king, Shapuh, against king Arshak. The Iranian king, Shapuh, massed troops and dispatched spies to observe Arshak, king of Armenia. And while Arshak, king of Armenia, with his troops were located near the Atrpatakan borders, watching those parts—for he expected the Iranian troops to come from there—[the spies], with Meruzhan as their leader, came through a different area and raided Armenia. They came through Aghjnik', Greater Cop'k', Angeghtun, through the district of Anjit, through Shahunoc' Cop'k', through the district of Mzur, through Daranaghe and Ekegheac'. Shapuh, the king of Iran, with countless troops [entered these districts] and spread about with his multitudes like a flood.

[155] They subjected the country to fire and pillage, putting many men to their swords. Women and children were thrown under the shafts of wagons, some were ground under threshers, a multitude of men were trampled by elephants and a countless number of tender children were led into captivity. They demolished many strongholds and secure fortresses. They took and destroyed the great city of Tigranakert, which was [located] in the district of Aghjnik' in the principality of the *bdeshx*. [The Iranians] immediately led 40,000 households into slavery, and then invaded Greater Cop'k'. There they found fortresses, some of which they took, others they were unable to take. They came and besieged the secure fortress of Angegh (which is in Angeghtun district), for at [that place] were the mausoleums of many of the Armenian Arsacid kings, and many treasures had been stored and kept there from [their] ancestors, [g149] from ancient times on. So, [the Iranians] went and besieged that fortress. But when they were unable to take it because of the security of the place, they left off and departed. They passed by many fortresses because they were unable to fight with the strongholds. However, the secure fortress of Ani in Daranaghi district was betrayed [156] into their hands, because the malefactor Meruzhan devised a stratagem against this secure fortress. [The Iranians] climbed up, destroyed the walls, and had countless treasures lowered down from the fortress. They opened the tombs of the first kings of the Armenians, of the Arsacid braves, and took the bones of the kings into captivity. However, they were unable to open only the tomb of king Sanatruk because of its colossal, gigantic firm construction. So they left that place and went on elsewhere raiding, advancing through the Basen areas seeking to come up behind the troops of the king of Armenia.

While all this was taking place, the bad news reached king Arshak. They said to him: "Behold, while you were sitting in Atrpatakan expecting the enemy to come forth, they passed through the side, destroyed the land, and now are coming against you." When king Arshak of Armenia and his general, Vasak, heard this they reviewed their troops. At that time under general Vasak's disposition were some 60,000 select and martial men who were united in war with one mind and one heart to go and fight for their sons and wives, to give their lives for the land and for the districts of the land they inhabited, to fight for their Church, for the oath of worship of their blessed churches, for the oath of faith in the [157] name of their God, and for their native Arsacid lords. For many people and even the bones of the dead kings had been seized from their own places and transferred to a foreign land.

The *sparapet* Vasak with 60,000 troops advanced, turning about, [g150] leaving king Arshak in a secure spot somewhere in the Marac' country with attendants. Then [Vasak] himself came and reached the interior of Armenia, the district of Ayrayat. He found the Iranian troops which had encamped *en masse* in the district of Ayrayat. resembling the sand on the seashore. Vasak and the brigade with him fell upon the *banak* of the Iranian king suddenly, at night. And they put all of the Iranian troops to the sword. Only the king [Shapuh] was able to escape by a hairsbreadth and flee. [The Armenians] pursued the survivors and chased them beyond their borders, and retrieved from them much, countless loot, an inestimable amount. They put all [of the Iranians] to the sword and retrieved from them the bones of their kings which the Iranians were taking into captivity to the land of Iran. For they, in accordance with their pagan faith said: "We are taking the bones of the Armenian kings to our land so that the glory, fortune and bravery of the kings of this land will come to our land with the kings' bones". Vasak retrieved all [158] that had been captured from the land of Armenia.

The bones of the Armenian kings which Vasak retrieved they buried at the stronghold in the village called Aghjk', in the Ayrarat district, which is located in one of the narrow crevices of the great Aragac mountain, [in a place] difficult of access. They then took care to pacify the land, to reform, to [re]build all the pillaged and burned [places] and to see to the captives. But this time too the malefactor Meruzhan had survived, fleeing along with the Iranian king. Thereafter king Arshak and general Vasak protected their land, carefully watching the two gates of the borders, all the days of their lives [g151].

25.

How king Arshak of Armenia invaded the country of Iran and ruined the Atrpatakan country; how he pulled apart, struck, and destroyed, and how he seized the camp of king Shapuh in T'awresh.

King Arshak of Armenia then mustered troops, surrounding himself with a host as incalculable as the sand, and went against the land of Iran. Vasak took the Armenian brigade and summoned the Honk' and the Alans to come to assist the Armenian kingdom against Iran. At the same time the king of Iran was coming with all of his troops to go against the country of Armenia. [The Armenians] quickly reached Atrpatakan and found the *banak* of the Iranian king encamped at Tawresh.

Sparapet Vasak went against the Iranian *banak* with 200,000 troops and fell upon them. The king escaped by a hairsbreadth fleeing on a horse, and [the Armenians] took the loot of the entire Iranian caravan. They killed all the troops of the Iranian multitude, taking so much loot from the *banak* that there was no counting it. They raided the entire Atrpayakan country, demolishing, and digging up the country, destroying to the foundations. And they took more captives from the country than there are stars. They put all the men of the country to the sword. Then they carefully watched over the borders of their country with great caution [g152].

26.

Concerning the Iranian Vin who came to do battle with 400,000 troops, but was conquered by the Armenian forces.

King Shapuh of Iran sent Vin against king Arshak of Armenia, with 400,000 troops. Vin arrived and spread about raiding in all the boundaries of the country of Armenia. When Arshak, king of Arnenia, learned about this [the Armenians] went against the Iranian troops, killing all of them and chasing the survivors as fugitives to the areas of the borders of Iran. They killed them and turned back, holding the place of battle. [160]

27.

How the Iranian general Andikan came with 400,000 men to loot the country of the Armenians; and how the sparapet Vasak with 120,000 Armenian troops went in advance of him and destroyed the Iranian troops and their commander.

Then the king of Iran sent against the king of Armenia a brigade of organized, prepared men, his select warriors, and 400,000 troops to come, take, burn and destroy the country of Armenia. Andikan, who was their military commander, arrived and pillaged the country of Armenia. But then Vasak Mamikonean, the *sparapet* of Armenia, came before him with 120,000 troops. They struck and killed [Andikan] and his troops, taking their ornaments, and not sparing a single one of them. And [Vasak] himself, valliantly held the site of the battle [g153].

28.

Concerning Hazaruxt, one of the Iranian naxarars who was sent by king Shapuh with 800,000 troops to attack the country of the Armenians; and how Vasak came before him with 11,000 men, struck and destroyed him and his troops in the boundaries of Aghjnik'.

Hazarawuxt came with the Iranian troops to burn, pillage, and overturn the country of Armenia to its foundations. Approaching through the Aghjnik' country, he wanted to spread through the country of Armenia and all its boundaries. However Vasak came up before him with 11,000 [troops], struck at, killed, and chased the survivors to the Iranian country. He also killed Hazarawuxt.

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Concerning Dmayund Vsemakan who, sent by the king of Iran, came with 900,000 axe-bearers against king Arshak of Armenia; how Vasak, sparapet of the Armenians, arose, reached them, and slew [Dmayund] and his troops.

[161] Then Dmawund Vsemakan of the Kawosakan *tohm* came with 900,000 troops, sent by king Shapuh of Iran to come to the country of Armenia and make war. But the troops of the country of Armenia were organized and prepared. With Vasak as their general, they arose to war against [the Iranians]. The Iranian troops were defeated before them and turned to flight. Vasak caught up, struck, destroyed and killed them such that no one was spared. He killed Vsemakan among the troops, while the dregs [of the fugitives] were chased beyond their boundaries [g154].

30.

How Vahrich, son of Vahrich, came from the king of Iran with 4,000,000 troops and battled with the king of Armenia; and how he and his entire army fell into the hands of sparapet Vasak and his troops.

Then came Vahrich [son of] Vahrich with 4,000,000 Iranian troops sent by king Shapuh to loot and destroy the country of the troops of the Armenian kingdoms. They arrived at a place called Maxazeen. But then general Vasak, with 40,000 [troops] rose against him. He struck and killed his troops, killed Vahrich, destroying the Iranian troops and leaving none of them alive. And he protected the borders of his country. [162]

31.

About Gumand Shapuh, who boasted greatly in the presence of the Iranian king Shapuh. He came to Armenia with 100,000 troops, but departed the country of the Armenians defeated.

Next came Gumand Shapuh, sent by Shapuh, king of Iran (before whom he had boasted), with 900,000 [troops]. He reached the land of Armenia, having as a guide the notorious Meruzhan of the Arcrunik' *tohm*, who was from the country of Armenia. Finding the border-guards who protected Armenia's boundaries negligent, [the Iranians] filled up and spread throughout the entire country of Armenia, looting, demolishing, and ruining the entire realm of Armenia. Then the general of Armenia, Vasak, organized and prepared,

reached and fell upon the royal brigade. First he killed Gumand Shapuh. After this the Armenians spread around, exterminating all the Iranian troops. Only the malefactor, Meruzhan, escaped by a hairsbreadth, fleeing on a horse to the country of Iran.

32.

Concerning the nahapet Dehkan, who was sent by king Shapuh of Iran with many troops against king Arshak of Armenia; and how Vasak, the general of Armenia, struck and killed him and his troops.

After all this Shapuh, the king of Iran, mustered troops assembling countless, numberless troops, resembling the sand by the seashore—well-armed men with spears in hand, many troops, 4,000,000 of them. And the Iranian king Shapuh sent Dehkan *nahapet* who was a *tohm*-member by *azg* of the *tohm* of the generals of Armenia, [163] that is, of the Mamikoneans to the country of Armenia against king Arshak of Armenia.

He arrived at the borders of the country of Armenia. But [this time] the Armenians were in no way caught napping; rather, they were organized and ready to wage war. General Vasak arose before them with 70,000 [troops]. He struck and killed all the Iranian troops, including his own relative Dehkan *nahapet*, and expelled before them all the fugitives on horseback. However, Meruzhan Arcruni, who guided them, fled and survived [g156].

33.

How Suren pahlaw came against Armenia and how he, like his predecessors, was defeated.

But once again Shapuh, the king of Iran, mustered troops, arranging and preparing many troops of select martial men, and countless elephants [and entrusted them to] Suren Pahlaw who, in fact, was a relative of Arshak, the king of Armenia. Meruzhan was their [164] guide. [Shapuh] dispatched [them] against [the Armenians]. But the general of Armenia, Vasak, came up before them with 30,000 troops, struck and killed Suren who was across from him, and destroyed his troops. However, once again Meruzhan escaped.

34.

About Apakan Vsemakan who came to the country of Armenia to fight with his innumerable troops; and how he failed like his predecessors.

After Suren, it was Vsemakan who came, sent by king Shapuh of Iran to war against the country of Armenia. He arrived with an immeasurable host and countless troops, having Meruzhan as a guide. However the *sparapet* general of Armenia, Vasak, was sent before him. [Vasak] struck and killed Apakan Vsemakan with the troops, not sparing a single one of them. Only the malefactor Meruzhan fled [g157].

35.

About the Persian nuirakapet Zik, who was sent with many troops to make war against Armenia by the impious Iranian king Shapuh, and who failed like his predecessors.

After this king Shapuh of Iran sent his chief nuncio, Zik, to wage war in Armenia. Meruzhan was their guide. He assembled battalions which in their number resembled the sands of the sea, and they came and reached

the country of Armenia. But the general of [165] Armenia, Vasak, arose and opposed him. He killed Zik and destroyed half of the troops, driving the other half before him as fugitives. But on that occasion as well they were unable to lay hold of Meruzhan.

36.

Concerning the Persian Suren, who came after Zik to wage war; and how sparapet Vasak defeated and killed him together with his forces.

After the death of Zik, the Iranian Suren left king Shapuh of Iran with 600,000 [troops] to war against king Arshak of Armenia. Meruzhan was his guide. Then Vasak, the *sparapet* of Armenia, assembled all the troops of the *naxarars*. At night he entered the entrenchment on foot with 10,000 very select men bearing swords. They generally destroyed and killed the Iranian troops. They arrested the Iranian Suren and led him before king Arshak. [Arshak] ordered them to slay him by lapidation. But Meruzhan survived, a fugitive [g158].

37.

How Hrewshoghom was sent by the Iranian king against the Armenians with 900,000 men, and how the Armenians again triumphed and raised the standard of victory.

Then Hrewshoghom (who also was of the same *azg* as the king of Armenia), a relative, came on king Shapuh's word to war against Armenia, to fight the Armenians with 900,000 troops. But the [166] general of Armenia, Vasak, organized, arranged and prepared all the brigades of troops and went against then in war. [The Armenians] drove then before themselves as fugitives. Hrewshoghom and Meruzhan fled.

38.

About Alanozan who came to do battle with the Armenian king with 4,000,000 troops, sent by the king of Iran; and how he too was defeated by Vasak.

Then Aghanayozan who was a Pahlaw from the Arsacid *tohm* boasted before king Shapuh of Iran, and came to the borders of Armenia. But this was quickly learned by king Arshak of Armenia. So he too organized his own troops [and] entrusted them to his *sparapet* Vasak. Assembling all of the Armenian *naxarars* with him, he came up in front of the Iranian troops. He struck and destroyed generally, and drove the survivors as fugitives to the country of Iran. And [the Armenians] guarded their borders [g159].

39.

Concerning Boyakan and his 400,000 troops who were defeated and destroyed by sparapet Vasak.

After this the great Iranian *naxarar* Boyekan reached Atrpatakan with 400,000 troops. They wanted to raid the country of Armenia. But Vasak came before him with his Hayastan brigade, and struck [167] all the Iranian troops, including Boyekan, in T'awrezh. There [Vasak] burned down the king's mansion. Finding there an image of the Iranian king, he used it as a target and shot it full of arrows. Only Meruzhan, who had come with them, fled.

40.

How the Iranian Vach'akan came to Armenia with 80,000 troops wanting to loot the country; and how the sparapet of the Armenians Vasak completely destroyed him and his army.

A certain one of the Iranian *naxarars* named Vach'akan invaded the country of Armenia with 800,000 troops. But the general of Armenia, Vasak, assembled all the Armenian troops, left king Arshak in the secure fortress of Dariwnk', and went with the Armenian troops to fall on Vach'akan's *banak*. He killed Vach'akan and destroyed the Iranian *banak*. But only Meruzhan, who had come as their guide, survived and fled, with a few [others] [g160].

41.

About Mshkan who invaded the country of the Armenians with 350,000 men and how Vasak and the army destroyed them.

A certain one of the Iranian *naxarars* named Mshkan came to fight king Arshak. But the general of Armenia, Vasak, put the Armenian troops before him. With great ferocity they fought each other. [168] The Hayastan brigade vanquished the Iranian troops, sparing not a single one of them. They expressly killed Mshkan, though Meruzhan fled.

42.

Concerning Maruchan and his 600,000 troops; how they came against king Arshak from the country of Iran, and how general Vasak destroyed them.

Then a certain great *naxarar* named Marichan [or, Mirichan/Maruchan, or Marich *anun*] came to battle against the country of Armenia, with 600,000 thousand troops which filled up the country. His guide was Meruzhan Arcruni. Once again Vasak went off to fight, taking along all the troops of Armenia. He struck and killed the Iranian troops, including Maruchan. Only Meruzhan fled [g161].

43.

How the zndakapet who came to the country of the Armenians with 900,000 was killed by Vasak and the army.

A certain Zindakapet, a military commander of the Iranian king's troops, reached the borders of Atrpatakan with 900,000 troops. Anticipating it, the general of Armenia, Vasak, went in front of him. He fell on the Iranian entrenchment at night killing all of them in the *banak*, including Zindakapet. Only the notorious Meruzhan slipped away and survived.

44.

About king Arshak's son who was named Pap; how he had been filled with demons since his birth, how they manifested themselves in him, and how, through them, he performed abominations.

Arshak's son, Pap, had been born of P'aranjem Siwnik' (who had previously been Gnel's wife. King Arshak killed him and took P'aranjem as his wife). When his mother bore him, since she was an impious person and did not fear God, she gave him to the *dews* as a gift. Many *dews* dwelled in the lad and manipulated him according to their wishes. [Pap] was nourished and grew up, and committed sins: adultery, the abomination of homosexuality, sodomy, and disgusting lewdness, but especially homosexuality. Furthermore he made others effeminate. Thus did he sully himself.

Now it happened that once his mother realized his homosexuality and was unable to endure the infamous pollution of his reputation, she told her son's chamberlain: "When he seeks men for abomination, a practise he has fallen into, you call me in." When the lad Pap had gotten into bed and requested men for abomination, his mother [g162] entered and sat there in front of her son. But the lad began to scream and lament, saying to his mother: "Get up and get out, or if you do not go from my house, I shall die, roast, be constricted, and [170] burst." But the mother said: "I will not leave this house." But [Pap] began to shout more and more and to multiply the laments. Then the mother looked and saw with her own eyes that white snakes had wrapped around the feet of the couch and were coiling around the lad Pap while he was lying in bed lamenting and demanding those lads with whom he used to have relations. Then the mother knew and recalled that at birth she had dedicated her son [to the *dews*] and she realized that it was they in the appearance of snakes who were coiling around her son. She started crying and said: "Woe is me, my little son, for you are in anguish and I did not know it." She arose and left the place so that he could fulfill the needs of his lust. So, manipulated by *dews*, Pap the son of Arshak, committed such deeds all the days of his life, while he reigned, and until his death.

45.

Regarding the handerjapet Sakstan who was sent by Shapuh the Iranian king with 400,000 men; and how he too was put to flight by general Vasak and his army.

After this king Shapuh of Iran assembled his troops, some 400,000 [appointing] Sakstan *anderjapet* as their military commander. [171] They went to the area of Armenia. They came and fought with king Arshak of Armenia. Then all the grandee *naxarars* of Armenia assembled in one place and consulted, for they would never consent to permit king Arshak to enter battle along with them. So Vasak the general, with all the grandees and *naxarars* of all of Greater Armenia, [g163] struck at and killed all the Iranian troops. He also killed Sakstan *anderjapet*. Only Meruzhan Arcruni survived, as a fugitive.

46.

How the Iranian takarhapet Shapstan, who came against the land of Armenia with 5,000,000 soldiers; and how the Armenian army killed them.

Shapstan, the chief cup-bearer, came against the land of Armenia with 500,000 [troops] and wanted to enter the land. But the arranged and prepared brigade of troops of the king of Armenia and Vasak, general of Armenia, came forth and struck the Iranian troops. They struck and destroyed the Iranian troops and killed Shapstan, the chief cup-bearer of the Iranians. Only Meruzhan fled and survived.

47.

About the Mages' handerjapet who came with 180,000 men to fight with the king of the Armenians, and how he was destroyed like his predecessors.

Then the Mogac' [Mages'] *anderjapet* arrived with 180,000 [troops] to war against king Arshak of Armenia. All the troops of the country [172] assembled in one place, as did Vasak, the general *sparapet* who was the *dayeak* of Arshak, king of Armenia. Although they hurried as fast as they could, they were barely able to reach [the Iranians] in Maghxazan. There the two brigades clashed with each other. The Iranian troops were defeated and went fleeing from the sight of general Vasak and all the Armenian troops. There they killed the Mogac' *anderjapet*, and exterminated the troops. However, only Meruzhan, mounted on a *tacik* horse, fled [g164].

48.

Concerning the Iranian hambarakapet who came with 900,000 men to do battle with the troops of the Armenian kingdom, and was slain at Saghamas by Armenian soldiers in Vasak's brigade.

Then came the Iranian king's steward (*hambarakapet*) with 900,000 [troops] to the district of Korchek' to Saghamas. Having made an entrenchment in a secure place, he wanted to fight with Arshak, king of Armenia. Then came the general of Armenia with 10,000 select armed men. He laid an ambushcade in the area of the *banak* and at night fell upon the entrenchment, [The Armenians] fell upon them and did not spare anyone. Only Meruzhan, who happened to be outside the brigade, fled. [173]

49.

How Mrhikan came from Iran with 400,000 men to fight with the Armenian king, and how he and his troops were killed in Maxazan by general Vasak and the Armenian brigade.

A certain great military commander of the Iranians [named] Mrhikan came with 400,000 [troops] to war against king Arshak of Armenia. But the Armenian troops, together with their general Vasak were defiant and attacked like ferocious lions. They killed the Iranian troops, including Mrhikan. But on this occasion too, Meruzhan fled [g165].

50.

The decline and collapse of the Armenian kingdom; how many Armenian naxarars rebelled from the king of Armenia and went over to the Iranian king Shapuh; how they quickly scattered here and there and how the Armenian kingdom was greatly diminished.

For thirty-four years the country of Armenia did battle with the king of Iran, and after this both sides grew weary, defeated, forsaken, and exhausted, And [the *naxarars*] began to leave the *banak* of the Armenian king; they abandoned their king, Arshak. The grandee nobility began this departure. The first to rebell against king Arshak of Armenia and to go before king Shapuh of Iran were:

the *bdeashx* of Aghjnik',
the Noshirakan *bdeashx*,
Mahkertan,
Nihorakan,
Dassentre',

and all the *naxararut'iwn* of Aghjnik', and the force and the *tun* of [174] of the *tohm* of the Aghjnik' area. They made a wall in a place called Joray, they put in gates, and separated their land from the Armenians.

Then [the following individuals] and those near and about them all rebelled from Arshak, king of Armenia, and went before king Shapuh of Iran:

the *bdeashx* of Gugark',
the *lord* of the district of Koghb,
the *lord* of Gardmanajor.

[Also] rebelling from king Arshak of Armenia were:

the secure district of Artsakh,
the secure district of Tmorik',
and the secure land of Korduk',

and then the lord of the district of Korduk' went before the king of Iran.

[175] After this the personal principality of the *tun* of the Armenian king, in the land of Atrpayakan rebelled from the king of Armenia [g166], the Marac' land withdrew, the Kazbic' land withdrew. Saghmut, *lord* of Anjit and with him the prince of Greater Cop'k', abandoned the king of Armenia and went to the Byzantine emperor. Those remaining in the interior of the land wavered [in allegiance] to the king, did not want to heed him or do anything he wished. And the kingdom was greatly debased.

Vahan, brother of *sparapet* Vasak, of the Mamikonean *tohm*, fell for the enticing words of his nephew (sister's son), Meruzhan Arcruni. He too rebelled from king Arshak of Armenia and went before Shapuh, king of Iran. He complied with [Shapuh's] wishes and apostasized the Christianity which he had held during his life, agreeing to revere the faith of magianism, that is, to worship the fire, water, and sun, and to apostasize the Christianity into which he had been born. He complied with the king's wishes and furthermore increased the accusational aggravation against king Arshak of Armenia and against his own *tanuter* Vasak. Recalling the death of Vardan, he [176] remembered: "He died because of you." Thereafter Vahan became dear to king Shapuh who gave him his sister Ormizduxt for a wife. He bestowed upon him *barj* and *patiw* which had been theirs ancestrally, and the king made him his intimate son-in-law. He exalted him among his troops and promised to give him very great properties. After this, the number of Armenians began to decline.

51.

Those [lords] remaining in the land assemble in complete unanimity before their patriarch Nerses and complain to him; and how they withdrew from and abandoned their king Arshak.

Then people of all the land of the authority of the Armenian kingdom assembled and came to the great archbishop of Armenia, Nerses. [They were]:

the grandee *naxarars*,
lieutenants,
governors,
lords of districts,
officials,
and the *dasapets* of the *shinakans*.

[177] They assembled in one place and began speaking with Nerses, saying: [g167] "You yourself know, lord, that it is now thirty years that our king Arshak has given us not one year's rest from warfare. We have wiped the sweat from our brows with sword, sabre, dart, and lance tips. We are unable to stand it anymore, nor are we able to fight anymore. It is better that we leave [Arshak] and go to the king of Iran as our comrades who

are serving him, have done. We shall do this, because we are unable to fight further. If king Arshak would fight with Shapuh, let him fight with Vasak and with Andovk, his father-in-law. But hereafter none of us from the land of Armenia will go to his assistance. Let him fight or not as he feels the need; we are leaving him and do not care."

Now the blessed Nerses spoke with them as was necessary, saying: "Think well and remember the Lord's commandment about unity, that servants should obey their lords. You are all testifying that you will leave the Arsacid *azg*. Because of them, some of you became lords of districts, some the grandees of lands, some the lords of very senior *awan* villages and treasures and of diverse *dastakerts*. Although the abominable *azg* of the Arsacids is guilty [178] before God the Creator, nonetheless they supported all of you and removed you from the garbage-heap giving some work, some *patiw*, some authority, some office. For although king Arshak is guilty before God and will have to pay interest [for his sins] to his creator, and suffer vengeance, nonetheless because of God's abundant and unlimited love of humanity, He has spared him, and because of him, you.

"You, lo, want to go and serve the pagans, to lose your life in God, to reject your *bnik* lords whom God gave you, to serve foreign lords [g168], and you long for their godless religion. But it would be better for you to love [God], accept and consent to Him and not to reject your God-loving king. For though Arshak is extremely wicked, nonetheless he is pious; though he is guilty, nonetheless he is your king. You yourselves have said in my presence how many years it has been that you have been fighting for yourselves, your souls, your land, your women and children, and, what is principal, for your churches, for the covenant of the faith which you have through the name of Jesus Christ, and [you said] that the Lord has always granted you the victory for His name. But now, in place of Christ your creator, you want to serve the godless impieties of magianism and to follow their clerics, abandoning our Creator and His commandments that one must remain faithful to one's temporal lords [179] whom He created. Perhaps the Lord God too will get angry at you and uproot you, and betray you to the hand of the pagans so that you slavishly serve them for eternity, and [perhaps He] will never remove the yoke of servitude from you. And if you protest to the Lord, He will not hear you, because you yourselves entered into the service of pagan lords and godless, ignorant men, and so will be delivered over to pagans and hard-hearted lords. Many many evils will arise before you and you will be unable to escape."

But those who were assembled there raised a clamor, shouted to each other, creating commotion and crowding and saying: "Come on, let's go each to his own place, for we cannot heed such words." And they all dispersed to their own *tuns* [g169].

52.

The Iranian king for a time suspended warfare against Arshak the king of the Armenians while he treacherously summoned him to make peace.

Then with great entreaties, gifts and *hrovartaks*, Shapuh, the king of Iran, summoned Arshak to him with affection so that thereafter they could make peace, great friendship and affection between themselves. Now although king Arshak wanted to make war, all of the troops of the land of Armenia did not consent. So, willy-nilly, he took heart to send a *hrovartak* in humility to Shapuh, king of Iran, as suited a servant to his lord. And he sent him gifts of reconciliation.

53.

King Shapuh summoned the Armenian king Arshak a second time; how [Arshak] went to him and was lost for good.

Subsequently Shapuh, king of Iran, once more sent to king Arshak of Armenia, saying: "If we are in agreement with each other, come so we may see each other, and henceforth let us be as father and son. But if you do not come to see me, you are asking for [more] war between us." Now Arshak requested from him a reliable vow with an oath, so that after that he might go to him without suspicion. In accordance with the reliable vow[ing procedure] of the Iranian kingdom, [Shapuh] had brought to him salt, to seal with a signet-ring bearing a wild boar, and he sent this [to Arshak, saying]: "If, after receiving this oath you still do not come, then be prepared for war" [g170].

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Now when all the people of the country of Armenia saw this and heard about it, they pressured and forced their king Arshak to arise and go before Shapuh, the king of Iran. After that, willy-nilly, Arshak, the king of Armenia, arose and taking with him the general *sparapet* of Armenia his *dayeak* [Vasak], he left the country of Armenia and went to the king of Iran, Shapuh, in the country of Iran. He went into the presence of king Shapuh of Iran. As soon [181] as they saw them they threw both of them, king Arshak and *sparapet* Vasak, into chains and kept them at liberty among the *azatagund p'ustipan* troops. King Shapuh summoned king Arshak and threatened him as a servant, and [Arshak] recognized that he had been acting guilty toward him and was worthy of death. And once again they gave king Arshak back to the keeping of the same brigade of *p'ustipans*.

54.

How once again Shapuh consulted sorcerers, astrologers, and magicians to reveal the intentions of Arshak; how [Arshak] was imprisoned in Anyush fortress as punishment, and how [king Shapuh] ordered that the sparapet of Armenia be put to a wicked death.

Then king Shapuh of Iran summoned the sorcerers, astrologers, and magicians and spoke with them, saying: "Many times I have wanted to love king Arshak of Armenia, but he has always dishonored me. I made a covenant of peace with him and he vowed to me on the principal [authority] of their Christian faith—which they call the Gospel. First he broke that oath. Like a father to a son, I thought to do him many good turns, but he repaid my goodness with wickedness. So I summoned the priests of the church of city of Ctesiphon and thought that they had duplicitiously [g171] made him swear and break the oath. [I] threatened them as men condemned to death. But their chief-priest, Mari, said to me: 'We gave him the oath justly. [182] But if he violates it, that same Gospel will bring him to your feet.' I did not listen to them. Instead I ordered that seventy of them be executed in a ditch and their co-religionists I put to the sword. The Gospel on which king Arshak swore, which is the principal [authority] of their Christian faith, I bound with chains, and it remains in my treasury. But I remembered the words of the priest Mari, who said: 'Do not kill us. I know that the same Gospel will bring king Arhsak to you on his knees. And now, lo, the words that he said were fulfilled justly. But for these thirty years, king Arshak of Armenia has been waging war with the Aryans, and we have not triumphed for one year. He has arisen and come [here] on his own feet. If I knew that hereafter he would remain true to my oath and obedient, I would dispatch him in peace to his land with very great exaltation.'

The magicians responded to him as follows: "Excuse us for today. Tomorrow we shall respond to you." The next day all the magicians and astrologers assembled there and said to the king: "Now that king Arshak of Armenia has come to you, how does he speak with you, what intonation, how does he hold himself?" The king replied: "He regards himself as one of my servants, and wants to be the ground under my feet." They said to him: "Do what we tell [183] you to do. Keep [the Armenians] here and send emissaries to the country of Armenia to bring soil from the borders of Armenia [equaling] two loads [of soil] and a pitcher of water. Then

order that half the floor of the tent be spread with the earth brought from Armenia. After this, take Arshak, king of Armenia, by the hand taking him first to the area containing our native soil. Ask him questions. Then take him by the hand and lead him to the area spread with the soil from Armenia. Listen to what he says, and then you will know whether or not he will uphold your oath [g172] and treaty after you release him back to Armenia. Now, should he speak with a rough manner while [walking] over Armenian soil, be advised that as soon as he reaches the country of Armenia, he will address you with the same voice, will renew the same fight, war and hostility with you."

When the king of Iran heard this from the magicians, he sent *tachik* camels to Armenia led by men to go and bring the soil and water [so that he might work] the charm. In a few days they brought what they had been sent for. Then king Shapuh of Iran ordered that [184] half the floor of his tent be spread with soil brought from Armenia and that water be sprinkled on it, and half the floor be left with the soil of his own [Iranian] country of residence. He ordered that king Arshak of Armenia be brought before him, and he ordered the other people to stand back. Taking [Arshak] by the hand he strolled with him back and forth.

As they wandered around the tent [Shapuh] said to him, while they were on Iranian soil: "Arshak, king of Armenia, why have you been my foe? For I loved you like [you were] a son, I wanted to marry you to my daughter and make you my son. But you braced against me and by your own will, not by my wishes, you became my foe. It has been thirty years that you have been warring with me."

King Arshak replied; "I sinned and transgressed against you for I came, destroyed and vanquished your enemies, and I looked forward to receiving the gift of life from you. But my enemies duped me, made me afraid of you, and they made me flee from you. Lo, the oath that I swore to you led me here, before you. Behold, I am a servant in your hand. Do with me what you will. Kill me, for I, your servant, am very guilty before you, worthy of the death penalty."

[185] King Shapuh, taking [Arshak's] hand, strolled with him, excusing him, but going over [that part] of the floor where the Armenian soil had been spread. As soon as [Arshak] reached the spot [g173], as soon as he set foot on Armenian soil, he became extremely arrogant and insolent, changing his tone. He began speaking, saying: "Away from me, evil-doing servant who has become master of your [former] lords. I do not forgive you and your sons the vengeance of my ancestors, and the death of [Parthian] king Artewan. For now you the servants have taken the station of us, your lords. I shall not excuse this until we again come to occupy our [rightful] places.

Now once again [Shapuh] took him by the hand and led him to the Iranian soil. Then [Arsak] lamented what he had said, bowed, grabbed [Shapuh's] feet and with great expiation apologized for what he had said. But when [Shapuh] took him by the hand and led him over to the Armenian soil, once again [Arshak] began to speak out even more harshly than before. Now again he was put on the other soil and began to speak of atonement. [Shapuh] thus tested him from [186] morning until evening. When [Arshak] was taken over the Armenian soil he harshly grew arrogant, but while going over the natural ground, he became penitent.

Now it became time for the evening meal of the Iranian king. There was a custom that the Armenian king would sit with him on the same couch of his *taxt*; there were laws that the king of Iran and the king of Armenia would sit on one level of the same *taxt*. But on that day, first they prepared all the couches of the kings there, and arranged them all. The last place and below all the others they set aside for Arshak's couch. They spread Armenian soil on the ground underneath it. After everyone had been seated according to his station, they brought in king Arshak and seated him. For a moment he remained seated there, proud and puffed up. Then he got on his feet and said to king Shapuh: "The place where you are sitting belongs to me. Get up and let me sit there, for that place belongs to our *azg* [g174]. When I reach my land, I shall seek very great vengeance from you."

Then king Shapuh of Iran ordered that chains be brought and cast around the neck of Arshak, and irons about

his hands and feet, and that they should take him to Andmesh, which is called Anyush fortress, and keep him bound there until he died. The next day king Shapuh ordered that Vasak Mamikonean, the general *sparapet* of Greater Armenia, should be brought before him, and he began to threaten him. Now Vasak was personally small, and Shapuh, king of Iran said to him: "Hey, fox, it was you who obstructed things and so fatigued us. You are the one who destroyed the Aryans for so many years. Why? I will kill you with a fox's death." Vasak replied, saying: "Now that you see me as personally short, you are not [accurately] measuring, my size. For until now I was a lion to you, but now, I am a fox. While I was Vasak, I was a giant with one foot on one mountain and the other foot on another mountain. When I leaned on my right foot the mountain [under my] right would be brought to the ground. When I leaned on my left foot, the left mountain would be brought to the ground." King Shapuh of Iran then asked: "Pray tell me what were those two mountains that you brought to the ground?" And Vasak replied: "Of the two mountains, one was you and the other was the Byzantine emperor. While God allowed it, I brought you and the Byzantine emperor to the ground, since the blessing of our father Nerses was upon us, and God had not forsaken us. While we acted according to his word, and accepted his counsel, be aware, we could have taught you a lesson. But with our eyes open, we fell into the abyss. So, do what you want" [g175]. [188] Then the king of Iran ordered that the general of Armenia, Vasak, be flayed, that the skin be removed and filled with hay, and taken to that very Andmesh fortress (which they call Anyush) wherein king Arshak was being held.

55.

About the enslavement and devastation of the land of the Armenians; the taking into Iranian captivity of queen P'arhandzem; the ruin of Armenian cities, and the complete overturning of the land to its foundations.

Subsequently Shapuh, king of Iran, dispatched against Armenia a certain two of his princes, one named Zik, the other, Karen, to come to the land of Armenia with 5,000,000 [troops] and to dig up and demolish it. They reached the country of Armenia. Now when the *tikin* of the land of Armenia, king Arshak's wife, P'arhanjem, saw that the troops of the king of Iran had come and filled up the land of Armenia, she took with her 11,000 select armed *azat* warriors and with them she went and entered the fortress of Artagers in the Arsharunik' country—to get away from the Iranian troops. But later all the Iranian troops arrived and they invested the fortress, held and besieged it. Those on the inside were depending on the security of the place. [But those on the outside] pitched camp and waited.

[189] [The Iranians] besieged the fortress for thirteen months, but were unable to take it, for the place was very secure. They ruined and demolished the entire country. They took booty from the entire country and arose into the surrounding districts and lands, taking people and animals captive and bringing them to their own encampment. They brought their victuals from elsewhere, and remained there besieging the fortress [g176].

Now Arshak's son Pap it happened, was not at that time in the land of Armenia, but had gone to see the emperor of Byzantium. When the *azatagund banak* of Armenia heard all this they went to seek help. The head of their [delegation] was Musegh, the son of *sparapet* Vasak. And [the delegation] went to its crown-prince. While they were still talking with the Byzantine emperor and convincing him to help them, they sent emissaries to the country of Armenia frequently, [messages] to the *tikin* of the land, to P'arhanjem, to withstand, to uphold the fortress and not surrender it to the Iranians. [P'arhanjem] was also receiving emissaries frequently, every week, one after the next from her son Pap. Somehow they would secretly enter the fortress through a secret door and give the *tikin* encouragement. The siege [190] stretched into its thirteenth month. [The messengers] who were constantly going and coming would tell her: "Hold tight, your son Pap is coming with an imperial brigade to help." The encouragement prolonged things. "A moment more,"

they would say, "Hold out a little longer and lo, help will arrive."

After the fourteenth month, the blow of God fell upon the fugitives at the fortress, for death was visited upon the people who were in the fortress, and it was punishment from the Lord. In the presence of *tikin* P'arhanjem, those who were in the *tachar* were eating and drinking and merry-making. But then suddenly, in one hour, 100 people [died], the next hour, 200 [died] and it happened that 500 people died on the seats they were sitting on. And day after day they perished. No more than a month after [the sickness] began, practically all of them were dead, some 11,000 men and 6,000 women—they did not last a month. [Almost] everyone in the fortress perished.

However *tikin* P'arhanjem and two waiting-maids remained [alive] in the fortress. Now the eunuch Hayr *mardpet* secretly entered the [191] fortress and greatly insulted the *tikin* as a whore. He started to insult the *azg* of the Arsacids [saying that they were] wanting in judgement and disgraceful and lost the land, besides. He said: "What has already befallen you was just, and so is what will happen." Then [Hayr] secretly fled. Now when *tikin* P'arhanjem saw that she was alone, she opened the fortress gates and let the Iranian troops enter. They came and seized the *tikin* and lowered her from the fortress. The Iranian troops entered the fortress and captured the treasures of the king of Armenia which were there. They started to gather and lower down all the treasures in the fortress. For nine days and nine nights they were continuously lowering down what they found in Artaragers fortress. They took this, with the *tikin*.

After this, they came to the great city of Artashat which they captured, destroying its walls. They took all the treasures which they found stored there and they enslaved the entire city. From the city of Artashat they took 9,000 households of Jews (who had been brought into captivity from the country of the Palestinians by king Tigran Arshakuni), and 40,000 households of Armenians. They burned [191] down the wooden structures in the city, and they demolished the structures built of stone. They tore down the wall and all buildings in the entire city, right to their foundations, and they did not leave stone upon stone. They left it desolated and barren of all population.

When they had assembled all the captives taken from the city in one place, they crossed the Tap'er bridge and proceeded to count the captives, keeping them among troops bearing spears. The Iranian military commanders said to Zuit', priest of the city of Artashat: "Leave the ranks of the captives and go wherever you must." But the presbyter Zuit' did not agree to this, saying: "Wherever you take the flock, take the shepherd. For it is impossible for the shepherd to leave his flock; rather, he must give his life for his sheep." So saying he entered captivity, and went into slavery to the country of Iran, together with his people [g178].

[The Iranians] also took Vagharshapat city which they demolished and dug through, overthrowing it to the foundations. From that city they took 19,000 households. They did not leave a single building in the entire city, for they overturned and demolished all of them. [193] They spread out raiding throughout the entire country, killing all the mature males, and taking the women and children into captivity. They seized all the fortresses of the king of Armenia, and filling them with many provisions, they left fortress-keepers in them. They took the great city of Eruandashat and took thence 20,000 Armenian households and 30,000 Jewish households, then they levelled the city and dug through it. They also took the city of Zarehawan in Bagrewand, leading away from it 5,000 Armenian households and 8,000 Jewish households. They demolished the city to the foundations. They took the great city of Zarishat, which was located in the district of Aghiovit, leading off 14,000 Jewish households and 10,000 Armenian households, and destroying the city to its foundations. They took the secure city of Van, in the district of Tozb, burned it, pulled it down to its foundations and leading from it 5,000 Armenian households and 18,000 Jewish households.

This entire multitude of Jews [were descendants of] those whom the great king of Armenia, Tigran, captured and brought to the country of Armenia from the country of the Palestinians, at the time when he captured and brought to Armenia Hiwrkandos the chief-priest of the Jews, in ancient times. And the great king Tigran brought all [194] of this Jewry and settled it in the cities of Armenia, during his era. But now [the Iranians]

destroyed the cities and enslaved the people living there. They took the entire country of Armenia captive and all the district they took into slavery, the districts, the regions, cavities, the lands, were assembled at the city of Naxchawan. For that was the assembling place for their troops. They took [Naxchawan] and demolished it as well. They took thence 2,000 Armenian households and 16,000 Jewish households and then departed [g179] with all of the captives. [The Iranians] left in the country of Armenia, *ostikans* and overseers to bring the survivors of the land into service. Then, taking the *tikin* P'arhanjem, with treasures and a multitude of captives, they went to the country of Iran. The captives were taken to king Shapuh of Iran, in the country of Iran.

When they took to Iran the *tikin* P'arhanjem, and all the captives of Armenia, and placed the treasures and *tikin* P'arhanjem before the king, the king of Iran greatly thanked his generals. Now since king Shapuh of Iran wanted to greatly insult the *azg* of [195] the land of Armenia, and the kingdom he ordered all of his troops, his grandees, and the lesser ones, and all the men in the country where he ruled to assemble and to have the *tikin* of Armenia in the midst of the mob. He ordered that in the concourse a contrivance be placed, and that the woman be affixed to it. Then he subjected the *tikin* P'arhanjem to abominable, bestial intercourse. So they caused the *tikin* P'arhanjem to perish. But they took all the other captives and settled them, some in Asorestan, some in the country of Xuzhastan.

56.

The martyrdom of the priest Zuit', from the city of Artashat, in the country of the Iranians.

Now when all the Armenian captives had been taken to the country of Iran, they took the presbyter of the city of Artashat, Zuit' before king Shapuh of Iran, in shackles. King Shapuh of Iran looked and saw the priest Zuit', a tall and attractive man, but [g180] a youth, The hair on his head was grey, but his beard was still black. When [the king] began to speak, he said: "Do you see that he is a man of evil? It is clear from his hair that he is a witch, for [196] his hair is white though his beard is black." The priest replied: "Say what you want to do, and do it. But as for [the question of the hair] know that the hair on my head was justified in turning white first, for it was at least fifteen years earlier than the beard in sprouting." The king ordered that he should be held until the next day. Now the next day he ordered that [Zuit] be brought to the concourse in chains. Then *ostikans* of the court arose and inquired whether he would consent to accept the worship of the Mazdean faith; otherwise, he would be put to death. But [Zuit'] refused. On the contrary he was delighted and wanted to die for the name of God. Going to the place of execution, he requested of his overseers that he be allowed to pray a little. Going forward, he kneeled and said [g181]: [We omit the translation of ch. 57, Zuit's prayer] [197]

58.

The coming of the Iranian king Shapuh to the country of Armenia and the complete destruction of the remnants left alive.

After this Shapuh, the king of Iran, went to the country of Armenia with all the troops under his authority. He had as guides Vahan, from the Mamikonean *tohm*, and Meruzhan, from the Arcrunik' *tohm*. They reached the country of Armenia and began raiding. They took all their captives and assembled them in one place. Many of the Armenian *naxarars* left their women, children, and families and fled here and there. The marauder gathered all the women whom the Armenian *naxarars* had left when they fled, and brought them to king Shapuh of Iran.

The *banak* of king Shapuh of Iran was then located in the district of Bagrewand, at the ruins of the city of

Zarehawan (which had been ruined previously by the Iranian troops). They brought before the Iranian king all the slave remnants of the land of Armenia. King Shapuh of Iran ordered that all mature males be trampled by elephants, and that all the women and children should [g182] be put under the blades of threshers. They killed thousands upon thousands, myriads upon myriads, there was no counting the slain. [198] [Shapuh] ordered that the women of the fugitive *azats* and *naxarars* should be taken to the horse-arena in the city of Zarehawan. He ordered that all the *azat* women should be stripped and seated here and there in the arena. Then king Shapuh himself, mounted on a horse quickly rode around the women. Those who caught his eye he took with him, one by one, to rape. For he had pitched a tent near the arena and he would go there to commit impiety. Thus he spent many days with the women. They killed all the mature males of the *azg* of the Siwnik' *tohm*, killed all the women, and [Shapuh] ordered that all the young boys should be made eunuchs and sent to the country of Iran. He did all this to get vengeance on Andovk, [as a result of whom] there was war with Nerseh, king of Iran.

Shapuh, king of Iran, commanded that fortresses should be built in the very secure places of Armenia, and that fortress-keepers be designated. He divided the *azat* women among the fortresses and left them there. For if their husbands did not come to him in service, the women in the fortresses would be killed by the fortress-keepers with whom they had been left. And he left Zik and Karen in the land as princes for them, with many troops. Authority over the remainders was entrusted to Vahan and Meruzhan. Then Shapuh himself went to Atrpayakan [g183]. [199]

59.

How Meruzhan and Vahan remained in the land of the Armenians and what great evils they wrought there; how Vahan and his wife were slain slain by their own son.

Vahan Mamikonean and Meruzhan Arcruni, two abominable and impious men, had rebelled from the oath of worship of [the Christian] God and agreed to worship the non-gods of the Mazdean sect. Thereafter they began to destroy the churches in the country of Armenia (the places of prayer for the Christians), in all parts of Armenia, in all the districts and regions. And they harassed many people whom they seized to abandon God and turn to the worship of the Mazdeans. Then Vahan and Meruzhan ordered that all the women whom the fugitive *naxarars* had left and abandoned should be harassed in the fortresses so that they turn to the Mazdean faith. If they did not agree [to convert], all of them would be put to death wickedly. When the fortress-keepers received this command, each one oppressed whoever was by him, as the command ordered. But when not a single one of them agreed to apostasize Christianity, all of them were wickedly killed in the fortresses where they were being held.

Now Vahan had a half-sister of the Mamikonean *tohm* (Vardan's sister) [named] Hamazaspuhi. She was the wife of Garegin, lord of Rhshtunik' district. When Shapuh, king of Iran, had come to the country of Armenia, her husband Garegin left her and fled. The *tikin* of [200] Rhshtunik' [was being kept] at the citadel in the fortress of Van, which is a city in the district of Tosb. The impious Vahan and Meruzhan ordered the fortress-keeper to harass the woman. The order was given that if she did not accept the Mazdean faith, she should be [g184] hanged from a lofty tower and killed. When Hamazaspuhi did not consent to hold the faith of Mazdaism they took her to a high tower which was located over a high rock precipice. They stripped her naked, tied her feet and suspended her upside down from the height. Thus she died from the hanging. She had a white body and a dazzling appearance, and remained hanging there, a wondrous sight. Her body on high gleamed like white snow and many people came there every day to see it, as though it were a miraculous phenomenon. Seeing the sight of the *tikin* Hamazaspuhi, a woman, a *dayeak* of hers stood with an apron called *anakiwghs* tied around her waist, under the high precipice from which her pupil hanged. She waited until the entire body decomposed. She gathered to her bosom all the bones of her pupil as they fell, and then went to her own people.

The two men [Vahan and Meruzhan] were so wicked that they did not even pity their own. Rather, without mercy they judged [201] strangers as well as their own families. They built *atrushans* in many places and made people obedient to the Mazdean faith. They built many *atrushans* on their own *sep'hakan* [property] and had their children and relatives study Mazdaism. But one of Vahan's sons, named Samuel, struck and killed his father, Vahan, and his mother, Ormizduxt (who was the sister of king Shapuh of Iran). Then [Samuel] fled to the Xaghteac' country. [Translator's note: Pages 186-90 of the *grabar* text contain chapter headings for the Fifth Book] [g185].

P'awstos Buzandac'i's

History of the Armenians

Fifth Book

1.

Pap is enthroned in the country of Byzantium; how he came to Armenia, took the land, and what he did and how he succeeded.

[202] After all this, Mushegh, the son of Vasak, assembled the surviving *azatagund* people and went with them to the Byzantine emperor. [Mushegh] presented the entreaties of the land of Armenia and [an account of] all the calamitous events which had befallen [the Armenians], and he requested from the Byzantine emperor that Pap, Arshak's son, [be made] king of the land of Armenia. The great Byzantine emperor, as requested, enthroned Arshak's son, Pap, as king of the land of Armenia. The Byzantine emperor was very supportive, he dispatched the *stratelate* named Terent and a certain count Ade along with 6,000,000 [troops to take] king Pap [A.D. 367-374] to the country of Armenia.

They reached the borders of Armenia. And Mushegh was the general *sparapet* of Armenia in place of his father, Vasak. Then all the dispersed, fugitive, hiding [people] in the country of Armenia, all people in the land of Armenia, the king, grandees, holders of districts and lords of districts, assembled in one place and inquired about [g191] the blessed and great patriarch Nerses, [203] For they knew that he was able to pray and beseech God for the cultivation of the entire land of Armenia, to save it from enemies, and that God gave him whatever he requested of Him. Furthermore, with his wisdom he would be able to offer them useful advice. Consequently [the whereabouts] of this man were of no small concern. For he could grace them with his wise advice, and, as events would unfold, he could give his useful opinions about which road they should travel.

So king Pap himself with the nobility of Armenia went and found the archbishop Nerses. [Pap] beseeched [Nerses] that he become the father and leader in beneficial advice for the Armenians, and that he beseech [God] for them. With great effort, they were barely able to persuade him to go with them to the court *banak*. For from the time of the death of Gnel, until the time of Pap's reign, [Nerses] did not go to the court *banak*. But this time, with great entreaties, they took him along with them to the court *banak*. He was their supervisor, advice-giver, arranger, and leader. He was always beseeching God for them. He led with wisdom, always shared their cares, eliminating sorrows with his prayers. For everyone, he appeared to be the father, in everything.

[204] Then the *sparapet* Mushegh arranged and organized all the brigades of the Armenian troops, and held a review of all the troops of the brigade. He had 10,000 [men] available. In the presence of king Pap, the great chief-priest Nerses, before Terent and Ade the Byzantine military commanders, Mushegh, *sparapet* of Armenia, conducted a military review of the Armenian troops, organized, prepared and armed for warfare,

with banners fluttering and emblems waving. Pap, king of Armenia, was very grateful, and bestowed very great [g192] gifts on general Mushegh. The Byzantine military commanders were also very grateful to him, and archbishop Nerses blessed general Mushegh saying: "May the Lord Christ bless you and your successors, and grant you the grace of victory all the days of your life. May He save the country of Armenia by your hand and the hand of your *azg*, for all eternity."

The general of Armenia, Mushegh, organized and prepared a brigade and then advanced with the Armenian brigade. They went as a vanguard before king Pap and the Byzantine troops of the imperial brigade. In the district of Daranaghik', Mushegh attacked like a wolf, [205] and as the advance-guard reached the interior of Armenia, Mushegh killed the Iranian military commanders Karen and Zik. He put everyone of the troops to the sword, sparing no one. To the natural borders of Ganjak in Atrpatakan, he seized the country and held it forcibly.

King Pap entered the country of Armenia and ruled over it. He took back all the very secure fortresses which the Iranians had seized, including the Daroynk' fortress in the Kog country where an extremely great amount of the Arsacids' treasures was kept. The fortress-keepers had remained loyal. For from the time that they took king Arshak of Armenia to Iran, the Iranians were fighting with that fortress, but could not take it. So it remained until king Pap came to the country of Armenia; the treasure had been preserved and went to king Pap in its entirety when he returned. The Byzantine troops [which were] at Erand and Baxish, divided among all of the districts in the country of Armenia. The malefactor Meruzhan was the only one to escape, fleeing on a horse.

[206] Mushegh, the general of the Armenians, circulated about the country, destroying the *atrushans* of the Mazdeans. *Sparapet* Mushegh ordered that all Mazdeans whom they seized should be roasted over the flames. They killed wickedly many fortress-keepers as [g193] well as many respected lords, who were honored in the presence of the king of Iran. Mushegh had them arrested and had them flayed, stuffed with hay, and hanged on the walls. He did this in many places to avenge his father, Vasak.

They [re]built all the places ruined by the enemy, and rennovated the churches. The kingdom gradually revived and affairs were gradually put in order. Blessed Nerses, the wise patriarch, directed, illuminated, advised, arranged, and built a resting-place for the poor, as he was naturally accustomed to. [Nerses] even set out the conduct of the kingdom with the most goodly religion, as it had been in the days of the ancient kings. He especially renewed the orders of church worship, of bishops, priests and deacons, he rennovated the martyrums of the Church renewing, teaching, and facillitating.

[207] Mushegh, the general of Armenia, arranged his brigade and went to the borders to remain there guarding the borders of his country, protecting his land by the order of his king, Pap.

2.

About Mushegh, the general of Armenia, how he fell upon the army of the Iranian king Shapuh, inflicting unbelievable blows to the point that Shapuh escaped on a horse by a hairsbreadth.

Mushegh, the son of Vasak, the *stratelate* of Greater Armenia, selected choice men from the *azats* and his relatives (some 40,000) men who were united and of one will. Organizing them with horses, stipends and weapons, he took them with him and went to the borders of Atrpatchank' to protect the land of Armenia. At that time Shapuh, the king of Iran, organized and prepared, and with the entire organization of his troops, came to the Atrpayakan country. Meruzhan was the guide of his *banak*'s brigade. The king's main *banak* was encamped at T'awresh [g194].

The *sparapet* general of Armenia, Mushegh, fell upon the *banak* with 40,000 [troops], and put his sword to work. The king of Iran, Shapuh, barely escaped by a hairsbreadth and fled on a horse, though Mushegh and the Armenian troops put the entire caravan of the *banak* to the sword. They killed many [people], arrested many Iranian nobles, [208] took as loot the treasures of the Iranian king, and seized the queen-of-queens along with other women. *Sparapet* Mushegh captured the entire *mashkavarzan* [royal-pavilion] and he ordered that all the nobility, some six hundred men, be flayed and stuffed with hay. He had this brought to Pap, the king of Armenia. He did this to avenge his father, Vasak.

However Mushegh, the general of Armenia, did not allow anyone to dishonor the women of king Shapuh of Iran. Rather he had palanquins prepared for all of them and then sent them all after their man, king Shapuh. He also dispatched to Shapuh, king of Iran, some of the Iranians, so that they might go before the king well and unharmed. Now the king of Iran was surprised by Mushegh's benevolence, his bravery and freedom that he had not perpetrated any insults on his women. At that time Mushegh had a white horse. So when Shapuh, king of Iran, took in hand wine to drink, while feasting and making merry with his troops, he said: "May the white horseman drink wine." He had a picture of Mushegh on the white horse, [engraved] on a cup, and when rejoicing he would put the cup before him and always recall in the same way: "May the white horseman drink wine."

[209] Mushegh and all the Armenian troops filled up with an unlimited amount of loot, treasures and goods from the Iranian *banak*. They kept a large share of the loot for their king, Pap, a share for [g195] those Armenian troops who had remained with king Pap, [a share] for the Byzantine generals who were with the king of Armenia, and similarly, and a share for all the troops, from that enormous amount of loot they had taken. Now when the Armenian troops returned to their own land, many of the Armenian soldiers accused the *sparapet* Mushegh before king Pap, saying: "Why did he release the women of the Iranian king, our enemy"? As a result of this matter the king of Armenia, Pap, for a long time felt no small hostility toward Mushegh.

3.

Concerning the mardpet Hayr and how king Pap ordered his execution.

[People] told king Pap about the way Hayr *mardpet* had insulted king Pap's mother *tikin* P'arhanjem when she was besieged in the fortress. For [Hayr] had entered the fortress secretly and insulted the *tikin* as though she were a whore, then he slipped out and fled. They told this entire story to the king. Now when the *mardpet* Hayr was circulating about his principality in the Taron country, Mushegh, the *sparapet* of Armenia was in the same district, at his [210] fortress which was called Oghakan, and was located by the Euphrates river. An emissary came from king Pap to Mushegh, the general of Armenia, bearing with him a *hrovartak* which contained the order to wickedly kill the *mardpet* Hayr. As soon as [Mushegh] had this order in hand he treacherously sent to the *mardpet* Hayr for him to come to him at Oghakan, supposedly to be exalted. This occurred during the winter, and the Euphrates river was frozen over. So the *mardpet* [g196] Hayr, as if going to receive honors, went to the fortress of Oghakan. General Mushegh ordered the troops to seize, and totally strip him, and to tie his hands below his knees. [He ordered them] to lower him down to the river and to put him on the frozen ice. And thus did he perish. The next day when they went to look, they noticed that his brain had oozed out of his nose from the cold. In his place as "Father" in the *mardpetut'iwn* they put a certain man named Dgghak, who, had been involved in the work of the *mardpetut'iwn* during the days of king Arshak, or of his father, Tiran.

4.

The second battle which occurred in the district of Bagrawand in the awan of Bagawan between the Armenian king Pap and the Iranian forces.

After this the king of Iran again held a muster of all his forces and troops. With all his troops he went to the land of [211] Atrpayakan. He himself remained there with a few people but he sent the entire multitude of the troops to war against king Pap. When the Iranian troops came, they raided the interior land of Armenia. Now Pap, the king of Armenia, ordered that a muster be held at Bagawan. The Byzantine troops which were at Erhand and Baxish assembled in one place by king Pap, digging a trench around their *banak* near mount Npat, close to the Euphrates river. They were organized and prepared for battle.

Then the general *sparapet* of Armenia, Mushegh, assembled all the Armenian troops and organized them in readiness, [g197] more than 90,000 men. Now while king Shapuh of Iran was deploying his forces against the land of Armenia and against the Byzantine troops, the king of Aghuania, Urhnayr, happened to be with the Iranian king. Urhnayr came forward and requested a favor from king Shapuh of Iran, saying: "If you would, oh bravest of men, order as a favor to me that I go with my brigade as a champion against the brigade of Pap, king of the Armenians. It is appropriate for the Aryan brigade to go against the Byzantine forces, so let me go against the Armenian [212] princes with my brigade." King Shapuh consented, thanked him, and so ordered. But Meruzhan Arcruni replied to Urhnayr, saying: "You have promised a lot, but there will be great amazement if you can do it". Meruzhan secretly sent this intelligence to Mushegh, the general of Armenia, by means of a messenger, and he said: "Be aware and be ready, Mushegh, for the king of Aghuania, Urhnayr, with great boasting has requested [fighting] you as a favor. So look to what you are doing."

While the Iranian troops were coming against the Armenians, having Urhnayr, king of Aghuania, along with them, the Aghuanian king spoke to the men in his brigade: "I am telling you something now to remember later on. When you have arrested the Byzantine troops, allow many of them to live. For we will bind them and take them to Aghuania and put them to work making bricks, as stone-cutters, and masons [creating] what is useful for our cities, mansions, and whatever else." When the two brigades, of the Byzantines and the Iranians approached each other and were preparing to clash, [213] king Pap of Armenia himself armed, organized, prepared, and wanted to go into battle. But Terent, the Byzantine general, did not permit him to fight. Rather, he said: "The Byzantine emperor sent us to come and protect you. Now, should [g198] something happen to you, how could we face our king, or what answer could we give him? If we remain alive here, without you, and if we reach our emperor, we would be criminally responsible before our emperor. But king, you do as we tell you. Take the archbishop of Armenia, Nerses, and both of you go up onto Npat mountain to a secure and safe place. Let the blessed chief-archbishop Nerses pray and beseech the Lord that He give us the victory. From the height you will look and see the detemined labors of the battle, the bravery and cowardice, all of which will be accomplished before you."

King Pap was persuaded. He took with him the great chief-priest Nerses and went up onto mount Npat. All the Byzantine and Armenian troops were descending to the place of battle. Then the general *sparapet* of Armenia, Mushegh, came up bringing his emblems and weapon to the archbishop Nerses so that [Nerses] would bless him, and he would descend to the battle. At that moment king Pap recalled the old stories and said: "I remember that Mushegh is a friend of king Shapuh of Iran. Is this not the same Mushegh who released the women of king Shapuh of Iran, with palanquins and camp soldiers? And I have [214] also heard that [Mushegh] speaks to the Iranians. Let him not enter the battle!"

The great archbishop Nerses intercedsd with king Pap on behalf of the general of Armenia, Mushegh. But king Pap said to the archbishop Nerses: "Do not be a mediator. For as soon as [Mushegh] descends, he will join the Iranian troops." But [Nerses] redoubled his intercession. Since at that time the king did not stray from what [Nerses] said, he responded: "Let your will be done. But first administer an oath to him by your right hand, that he will not deceive us, and then release him to the battle." So they called Mushegh before the king, and he came and prostrated himself for the king. Then, holding the right hand of archbishop Nerses, he swore [g199]. He also held king Pap's hand and swore: "I shall live and die for you as my ancestors did for your

ancestors, as my father did for your father, Arshak, so I will do for you. Only do not give ear to slanderers."

Then Nerses, the chief-priest of Armenia, blessed him with many blessings. Pap, king of Armenia, ordered that his own steed and spear be offered to that brave man, general Mushegh. However, he did [215] not accept them. "I will use my own, king," he said, "whatever you give, I am on your side." Then [Mushegh] offered his emblem and weapon to Nerses for him to bless. He mounted his horse with his brigade taking the Armenian front to the right of the Byzantine troops, and he moved the right wing forward.

Now king Pap and archbishop Nerses were up on Npat mountain. Blessed Nerses, raising his arms to Heaven asked the Lord to protect His covenant and His holy Church, which He had received through His venerable blood, and that He not give over the people to the hands of godless pagans, so that the pagans never ask: "Where is their God?" While he was praying to God, the entire Armenian force went against the Iranian troops like a fire. The Musheghian brigade was out in advance of the other brigades and was moving swiftly. The king was watching but the emblems of Mushegh were not discernible by him. When he did not see those emblems, king Pap began to shout to Nerses, saying: "You deceived and burned me. For I told you not to send that man into battle. Now, lo, he had joined the Iranian troops and is doing very great harm." Archbishop Nerses replied: "No, king, do not think that. For that man will not betray us. You yourself will see the bravery which your servant works before you."

[216] Now king Pap greatly pressured the archbishop Nerses, saying: "Keep praying [g200] and beseech the Lord since they are still fighting." When archbishop Nerses was very fatigued, he said to king Pap [Translator's note: Nerses, in a lengthy passage which we omit, urges Pap to pray and mend his ways] [g201].

While [Nerses] was on the mountain, he spoke these words, and many others to the same effect to king Pap who was with him. Until evening, till sunset, till the battle ended [Nerses] offered many and diverse prayers.

During the battle, God's aid had come to the Byzantines, and the Hayastan brigade was victorious while the brigade of the Iranians turned and fled, dispersing over the plain, high mountains and deep valleys. But the Byzantine and Armenian troops pursued them and when they caught up, they killed great and small alike. However a few [Iranian] braves fled. They were pursued by the Armenian troops as far as Ganjak in Atrpayakan, as far as the borders of Armenia. Many of the fugitives were killed on the road. Mushegh, the *sparapet* of Armenia, struck the Iranian troops with incredible blows. Then he encountered the Aghuanian brigade and generally killed all of the troops. He caught up with Urhnayr, the king of Aghuania, who was fleeing [217] and with the shaft of his spear [Mushegh] struck [Urhnayr] on the head many times, saying: "Be grateful that you are a king and have a crown. I will not kill a king even if I am put into great straits." And [Mushegh] permitted him to flee to the land of Aghuania, with eight cavalrymen.

When all the Armenian troops returned, there was no limit to the [number of] heads of champions which the general of Armenia, Mushegh, brought before the king of Armenia, Pap. Similarly, in accordance with each one's level, all the *naxarars* and grandees and all the troops [brought heads]. There was great triumph in the country of Armenia and among the Byzantine troops. They filled up with much loot of treasures, of weapons and ornaments, with gold, silver, and much equipage, with the horses, mules and camels which they took. There was so much of it that there was no number or measure for describing it.

However [some people] went to the great king Pap with slanderous accusations about general Mushegh, saying: "Be aware, king, that [g203] [218] [Mushegh nurses] great treachery toward you and awaits your death. He is always releasing your enemies. He has laid hands on many of them, numerous times but is accustomed to releasing the enemies. He released king Urhnayr, an adversary of yours whom he had seized, and allowed him to live." Because of this incident, on many occasions there was ill-will between king Pap and general Mushegh, and [Pap] frequently reprimanded him. But general Mushegh answered king Pap as follows: "I killed all those who were my peers. Those who wear a crown are not my peers, but yours. Come, just as I killed my [peers] do you kill yours. I have never, do not, and will not lay my hands on a king. If you want to

kill me, do so. But should a king fall into my clutches as has happened many times, I will not kill him, even if I am slain."

When king Pap heard these words, he began to cry, got up from his chair, embraced Mushegh, and wept upon Mushegh's neck, saying: "Worthy of death are those who dare to speak ill of Mushegh, a brave and honorable man. By *azg* he is as honorable as we, his ancestors as our ancestors. For his ancestors left the kingdom of the land of Chenk', and came to our ancestors here. They lived and [219] died for our ancestors; his father died for my father. He has loyally labored to the point of death. Often God has given us victory through the prayers and requests of our father, the miraculous Nerses, and we were favored with much peace through [Mushegh]. So why do they tell me 'Mushegh awaits your death?' Behold, he is a judicious man, who spared foreign kings out of friendship. So why would he harm his natural lords?" Then Pap favored general Mushegh with many gifts, honors, and villages [g204].

5.

The second battle between Armenians and Iranians at Gandzak in Atrpayakan [Atrpatakan] and Urhnayr's warning and the victory which the Armenians enjoyed because of it.

Urhnayr, the king of Aghuania, sent some information to Mushegh via messenger: "I have great thanks for you for not putting me to death. God put me in your hands, and you spared me. For the rest of my life I will not forget your affection. However, I am informing you that the king of Iran, Shapuh, with all of his troops is coming to fall upon you unawares." Then the *stratelate* of the Byzantines organized the troops which were with him, and headed toward the borders of Armenia, from the side of Ganjak in Atrpayakan *tun*. Similarly the *sparapet* Mushegh assembled all the Armenian troops. There were 90,000 well-armed, select men, spear in hand, to say nothing about the shield-bearers. According to the tip, they hastened [220] quickly to their border. Only the king remained in the land of Armenia. Archbishop Nerses also remained in the land and ordered everyone throughout the land to pray for the troops fighting in the war.

Now king Shapuh of Iran came with all his troops to the place of battle, and found the Byzantine troops and the Armenian brigade organized and prepared to fight. [The armies] clashed. The Iranian troops were defeated. The brigades of spearmen attacked especially ferociously, bravely hurling to the ground champions, seated upon their horses, and this in the presence of king Shapuh of Iran. And as [the Iranians] fell, all of the forces of the Armenian warriors would shout excitedly [g205], constantly: "Take him, brave Arshak." Indeed all the champions, when they killed someone in fighting would dedicate him to their brave king Arsak, saying, with regard to the slain person: "Be a sacrifice to our king Arshak." When the champions, the noble Armenian spearmen attacked and threw down the Iranian spearmen, they would say in encouragement: "Take him, brave Arshak!" And when they killed and beheaded the champion, they would say: "Be a sacrifice for Arsak."

P'awstos Buzandac'i's

History of the Armenians

Book Five

Chapter 5. (Continued from Previous Page)

The multitude of the troops of the legions, that is of the [221] Byzantine shield-bearers, as well as the Armenian shield-bearers were protecting the side of the Armenian troops. They themselves were surrounded with shields, resembling a secure city. When the Iranian troops were able to disperse the Byzantine troops or the brigade of Armenian spearmen somewhat, [the dispersed soldiers] would enter the legion of shield-bearing Byzantines or the shield-bearing Armenians as though entering a fortress, and rest there. As soon as they had rested a little, they would emerge thence and attack, felling and beheading countless Iranians before them, and always making the same encouraging remarks as they killed, regarding their king Arshak. Again, when the Iranian troops appeared to be getting the upper hand, [the Armenians and Byzantine troops] would go to the legions of shield-bearing troops, as to a secure fortress, the shields would part, let them in, and then close again. On that day, the Iranian troops were defeated by the Byzantine troops and Terent their *stratelate*, and by the Armenian brigades and their *sparapet* Mushegh. King Shapuh of Iran fled from that battle, with a few [retainers]. [The Armenians] set up border-guards, then they themselves returned to their king Pap, with great renown, good booty and glorious pomp.

When king Shapuh had returned to his land, he was amazed at the [222] bravery of the fighting brigade which he had encountered, and he said: "I am astonished at what I saw. From my childhood onward [g206], I have always been fighting. In the many years since I became king I have not spent a single year without fighting. But this [recent] war was a fiery one. For when the Armenian spearmen were out in front, they attacked like a tall mountain, or like a thick, mighty and immovable tower. As soon as we routed them a bit, they took refuge in the Byzantine legion, which opened its shield-barrier as though receiving them into the walls of a secure city. There [the Armenians] would rest a little, and once again emerge to fight, until they had wiped out the Aryan troops. Furthermore I am amazed at the [enduring] intimate love for their lord, shown by the Hayastan brigade. For, despite the many years which have passed since their lord Arshak was taken from them and ruined, when [the Armenians] are fighting, they gave [each other] encouragement in his [name]. Throwing champions to the ground, they would say: 'Take him, Arshak'; despite the fact that [Arshak] was not even with them. Out of love for their lord, for their natural lord, they would dedicate all the champions whom they killed to him. [I was also astounded] by that frenzied brigade, the Mushegheans, for it seemed to me that flame and fire issued from that brigade, and the emblems were such in the brigade that it seemed as though fire was devouring the reeds. So much time has passed since they lost their lord Arshak (for he is in the Xuzhastan country at Andmesh fortress), but in their love they regard him as their [223] king, with them in the brigade, at the head of the battle, and they were serving him. How fortunate is the lord of the Armenian brigade, of such united, loyal troops which love their lord" [g207].

6.

Regarding the mardpet Dghak who was appointed border-guard, how he became an adviser to the Iranian king, and how he promised to betray the Armenian king; and how he was slain by King Pap.

Now Terent, general of the Byzantine troops, and Mushegh, general of the Armenian troops, left Dghak the *mardpet* (who because of his work was called "father" of the king) as border-guard at Ganjak, which is the border between the Iranians and the Armenians. With him were 30,000 very choice, well-armed, fully-armored spearmen. Terent and Mushegh with all the troops with them went back to king Pap. Now the *mardpet* Dghak sent messengers to king Shapuh of Iran, and promised to betray into his hands Pap, the king of Armenia, Terent the general of the Byzantines, and Mushegh, the general of the Armenians. And he received [from Shapuh] an extremely large amount of treasure as gifts. However other grandee *naxarars* who were there with him, [such as] Gnel, lord of the Anjewac'ik' district and others, secretly informed king Pap about this.

So king Pap sent emissariss to Dghak the *mardpet* saying: "Assemble the troops entrusted to you and give them to Gnel Anjewac'ik'. And [224] come here at once. I must send you to king Shapuh of Iran, so that I can enter his service." When Dghak the *mardpet* heard this, he was extremely pleased inside, reasoning: "Now it will be simple for me to carry out my plan, as I promised king Shapuh of Iran. Now I have found a way to put Pap at rest with words, so that he will be unconcerned and at ease. Meanwhile, suddenly and unexpectedly I will put the Iranian king over his head." Thus, delightedly, he became the liason between the two kings. He quickly sent an emissary by horse to the district of Ayrayrat, to the king of Armenia [g208] Pap, to the great village on royal holdings, called Ardeank'. [He himself] came into the king's presence and was greatly exalted by him. At dinnertime, king Pap ordered that Dghak be taken and dressed in a robe [of honor]. So they dressed him in shirt and breeches. But the clothing was so absurdly big that fold over fold it stretched down, to the point that he was unable to dress himself, for he was enveloped in enormous clothing. Then they put on a huge robe, and a belt around his waist from which a knife hanged down. A sword was also placed on him, but the garments folded down such that the knife and the sword were both covered. When the breeches and boots were on, they attachsd the cutlass to his thigh, but folds from the breeches descended down over the cutlass, to his legs. But [225] Dghak in no way realized that the bigness of the clothing was related to his own wickedness. At the ninth hour of the day, they summoned Dghak and said: "They are calling you to go to dinner inside the court." Then they led him along the route of *tuns* to where the king was. That street was long having many sky-lights. They led him through it, where there were shield-bearing men with axes; and all the openings for light were covered over. When he entered [that area] the shield-bearers pushed him around. [Dghak] reached for his weapons, but was unable to lay hands on them because the folds of his garments had buried them.

Dghak was a large, personable man with big bones. Despite this, the shield-bearers surrounded him and picked him up, taking him to the door of the court *tachar*. But when the king saw that they were bringing him there, he called out: "Not here, not here, take him to the *tun* of robes." So the shield-bearing troops took him, with his hands bound, into the *tun* of robes, that is, where the court crown was put [on the head of the king]. It was there that Dghak started to speak, saying: "Tell the king, say to him, that I am [226] worthy of death, but it befits him to slay me in the concourse, not in the *tun t'agac'*, which would pollute your crown with blood." He [g209] was able to say only this much. Immediately they killed him in the chamber of the robes, beheaded him, put the head on a spear, and erected it in the court concourse.

7.

Regarding the death of Arshak, king of the Armenians, how he died by his own hand at Anyush fortress in the country of Xuzhastan, and how Drastamat became the cause of his death.

In that period, king Arshak of Armenia was still somewhat alive in the country under the authority of the kingdom of Iran, in the Xuzhastan areas, at Andmeshn fortress, which was called the Fortress of Oblivion, *Anyushn berd*. In this period the Iranians stopped warring with the Armenians, since the Arsacid king of the K'ushans, who resided in the city of Baghx [Balkh] was warring against the Sasanian king Shapuh of Iran.

King Shapuh assembled all of the Iranian troops, and took them to fight against him, and took, at the same time, all the captive cavalry from the country of Armenia. They even took with them the eunuch of king Arshak of Armenia, to fight.

There was a eunuch of Arshak, king of Armenia, who was a loyal *ostikan*, a eunuch beloved and [possessing] a great principality and great honor, who was named Drastamat. Now when the war commenced [227], the Iranian troops were wickedly scattered by the K'ushan troops. Many of [the Iranians] were arrested, while the rest fled, chased out. It happened that the eunuch Drastamat [was involved in the war]. He had, during the years of Tiran, king of Armenia, and Arshak, his son, been prince of the *tun* of the district and loyal to the treasures of Angegh fortress, and all the royal fortresses in those parts [g210], similarly the treasures at Bnabegh fortress in the Cop'k' country were under him. His *barj* [cushion] was higher than [those of] all the [other] *naxarars*. Since this office and the *mardpetut'iwn* [whose occupant] was called *hayr* (father) had been [entrusted] to eunuchs from the beginning period of the Arsacid kingdom, this eunuch, Drastamat, the prince of Angegh *tun* had been taken captive to the country of Iran at the time that king Arshak of Armenia had been seized.

Drastamat happened to be in the battle in which the K'ushans defeated king Shapuh of Iran. Drastamat displayed incredible bravery and even saved king Shapuh from death. He killed many of the K'ushans and brought the heads of many champions before [the king]. He saved king Shapuh of Iran when [the latter] was surrounded by enemies during the fighting. Now when king Shapuh of Iran returned to the [228] Asorestan country, he greatly thanked the eunuch Drastamat for his labors, and king Shapuh of Iran said to him: "Ask for whatever you want, and I will grant it, without delay." Drastamat said to the king: "I want nothing from you but that you order that I go to see my natural lord, king Arshak of Armenia. For the one day that I am with him, order that he be released from his bonds, and I shall wash his head, annoint, and dress him in a robe. I shall place him on a couch and put delicacies before him, give him wine, and make him happy with musicians. Just for one day." King Shapuh replied: "What you ask for is difficult. For from the time that the Iranian kingdom was established, and that fortress was named Anyush, no one has dared to remind the kings about people whom they have put there [g211]. No one has recalled a prisoner there, to say nothing of [this prisoner] who is a king, my comrade, but now my bound adversary. You have taken your life into your hands by mentioning Anyush. Such a thing has not happened from the beginning of the Aryan kingdom. However, because the labors you performed for me were great, what you have requested will be given to you. Go, but you should have asked for something to benefit yourself, [such as] lands, districts, or treasures. What you requested is outside the laws of the Aryan kingdom. But go, what you requested will be given to you in exchange for your [help]."

[229] So [Shapuh] gave him a reliable *p'ustipan*, and a *hrovartak* with the court seal to allow him to go the Andmesh fortress and do as he requested for the bound Arshak who had formerly been the king of Armenia. Drastamat went with the *p'ustipan* and the court *hrovartak* to Anyush fortress and saw his native lord. He released Arshak from the iron shackles on his hands and feet and the chains of his neck collar. He washed his head and body, dressed him in a noble robe, sat him on a couch and made him recline. Before him he placed food befitting kings, and wine, after the custom of kings. He revived and consoled him and made him happy with *gusans* (minstrels).

At dessert time he put before him fruit, apples, cucumbers and dainties to eat, and he gave him his knife to peel and eat what he wanted. Drastamat greatly enlivened him. He stood up and consoled him. But when [Arshak] had drunk the wine and become intoxicated, he grew arrogant and said: "Vay, woe is me, woe is Arshak. Look what I have fallen to, and what has happened to me." Saying this, he took the knife which he was holding in his hand to cut the fruit or delicacy, and plunged it into his own heart. He died then and there [g212], on the couch. Now when Drastamat saw this, he seized the same knife and thrust it into his side. And he died too, at the very same hour. [230]

8.

How the war ended on the Iranian side, and how sparapet Mushegh began fighting against those who had rebelled against the king of the Armenians, waging great warfare against various regions; and how he started at the House of the Armenian king in Atrpayakan.

After the warfare ceased in the Iranian areas, and [the people] were secured from battle on that side, the *sparapet* of Armenia, Mushegh, began to strike at those who had rebelled from the Arsacid kingdom. First he struck at the *tun* of the king of Armenia which was in Atrpayakan. He laid waste all the districts of the Atrpatchan country, taking many people into captivity, placing the remainder under taxation, and taking many hostages from them.

9.

Regarding Noshirakan.

Mushegh struck at the rebellious Noshirakan land, which had rebelled from the king of Armenia. He destroyed and took captives, and took hostages from the survivors. He placed the inhabitants of the country under taxation [g213].

10.

Regarding Korduk', Kordik', and Tmorik'.

Sparapet Mushegh struck at the districts of Korduk', Kordik' and Tmorik', which had rebelled from the king of Armenia. He took captives and ruined [the land], put the remainder under taxation, and took hostages.

11.

Concerning the Mark'.

He greatly struck at the Mark' areas, since they had rebelled from the king of Armenia. He took many of them captive, placed the remainder under taxation, and took hostages.

12.

About Artsakh.

He struck the Artsakh country with great warfare. He took many of them captive, took the remainder hostage, and placed the others under taxation.

13.

Concerning Aghuania.

He made war against the Aghuanian country, striking them with unbelievable blows. He took many districts from them, which they had taken from [the Armenians]: Uti, Shakashen, Gardmanajor, Koght' [g214], and the districts surrounding them. And he established the Kura river as the boundary between the country of Aghuania and themselves, as it had been previously. He killed many of the principal [people], placing the remainder under taxation, and taking hostages from them.

14.

Concerning Kasp.

Then *sparapet* Mushegh sought great vengeance from the country of Iran and the city of P'aytakaran, since they had revolted and betrayed [232] the king of Armenia. After arriving there, the *sparapet* general Mushegh beheaded many of them as punishment, took many captive, put the rest under taxation, took hostages from them, and left overseeing *ostikans*.

15.

Concerning Iberia/Georgia.

Then *sparapet* Mushegh went against the king of Iberia [Georgia] greatly harassing him. He struck the country and defeated the entire land of Iberia. He put to the sword all the *azats* and *naxarar azgs* he could find. *Sparapet* Mushegh ordered that the P'arawazeans be crucified in the land of Iberia. He seized and beheaded the *bdeashx* of Gugark' who previously had served the king of Armenia but had rebelled. He destroyed the males of [that] *azg* and took the women and daughters into captivity. Similarly he beheaded all the *naxarars* in those parts who had rebelled from the king of Armenia. He took the entire district, taking hostages and putting the remainder [g215] under taxation. He conquered as far as the old boundary which existed between the country of Armenia and the country of Iberia, namely the great Kura river, and then he turned back. [233]

16.

Regarding the district of Aghjnik'.

Then general Mushegh turned to the Aghjnik' country, striking the country with great blows, for they too had rebelled from the king of Armenia. He arrested the *bdeashx* of Aghjnik', destroyed his women in his presence, took their sons into captivity, put the survivors under taxation, left overseers and *ostikans*, and then departed the country of Aghjnik'.

17.

About Greater Cop'k'.

After that they invaded Greater Cop'k', since they had rebelled. Mushegh subjected the district of Greater Cop'k' to pillage. He put its *azgs* to the sword, took hostages and put the people under taxation.

18.

Regarding Angegh tun.

He also struck many people in Angegh *tun* and put them to the sword. However, since that land was court *ostan* from very early times, the inhabitants of the district themselves [already] were in [234] tax service [g216].

19.

Concerning the district of Anjit.

Then Mushegh invaded the district of Anjit, striking the areas of districts surrounding it. For they too had rebelled from the Arsacid kingdom. He put the lords of the district to the sword, took hostages and subdued them. He put all of them into tax service to Pap, king of Armenia. [235]

20.

About Mushegh, sparapet of Armenia.

But the brave general *sparapet* of Armenia was full of vengeance, and all the days of his life he was very zealous and with just labor tried always loyally to work for the kingdom of the land of Armenia. He worked day and night. He strived and labored in warfare, and did not permit even a grain to be taken from the borders of the country of Armenia. He lived for the land, and would die for the reputation of bravery, and for the native lords, the inhabitants of the land, the Christian faith, the baptized folk who believe in God and Christ, for the churches, for their consecrated ornaments, for the martyria of Christ, for the covenant of God, for the sisters and brothers, for the relatives of [his] *tohm* , and close friends. General Mushegh was always in heroic war, and [was willing to] give his life for the land. He did not spare his life, but all the days of his life he labored for his native lords, the Arsacids [g217].

21.

About Nerses, chief-bishop of Armenia, the kind of man he was and about the great marvels he performed.

The archbishop of Armenia, Nerses, was [re]building all the ruined places in the country of Armenia. He took the initiative, [236] consoled, provisioned and was a supervisor of all the poor, and gave repose to the lepers and the poor. He built churches everywhere, and he restored all the destroyed ones. All of the overturned orders, he corrected and renewed. He confirmed, advised, reproached, and he wrought many signs of very great powers, and much healing, miraculously. He greatly strengthened the laws, whomever he blessed was blessed; whomever he cursed, was cursed. He increased the orders of clerics in all places in the boundaries of the sway of Armenia. He set up supervisory bishops in all the districts. As long as he lived he constantly paid attention to his superintendency and authority.

22.

Regarding King Pap, and how he was filled with demons and was unrighteous.

Now when king Pap was still a boy, a newborn baby, his impious mother, P'arhanjem, dedicated him to the *dews*. Consequently, he was full of *dews* from his boyhood. For he was always doing what the *dews* [237] wanted, and did not even want to be healed. He behaved in accordance with the *dews* and through sorcery the *dews* appeared upon him. Everyone could see the *dews* with their own eyes [g218]. Every day when people went to bid him good morning, they saw the forms of snakes arising from king Pap's breasts, snakes which curled around his shoulders. Everyone saw them and were afraid to come close. But he would respond to the people, saying: "Don't be afraid, they are mine." And everyone constantly saw these forms about him.

Many *dews* had put their nest in him, and they always appeared to the people who came to see the king. However, when the patriarch Nerses or the blessed bishop Xad came into his presence, the *dews* disappeared. King Pap was also sunk in abomination. Sometimes he himself [took the role] of the woman and gave himself over to profanation; other times, he got other men to be the woman, and committed abomination with them. Sometimes he copulated with animals. And thus, all the days of his life he was controlled by *dews*, which dwelled inside of him.

23.

Concerning the rebukes of saint Nerses who was ever an enemy of king Pap because of his sins.

But the blessed archbishop of Armenia, Nerses, was constantly reproaching, reprimanding and chiding king Pap greatly, and because [238] of his wickedness, [Nerses] did not permit him to cross the threshold of the church, or to go inside. He was always reprimanding, reproaching and advising that [the king] find himself [and save himself] from the ruination of his deeds. He always spoke with him to make him think of atonement. He put before him testimonies from Scripture, terrifying him about the punishment of eternal judgements, so that he come to his senses, become good, and pursue the orders of justice and pure deeds [g219].

Now king Pap in no way heeded what [Nerses] said, but rather, he resisted him with great enmity and awaited his death. Indeed, he wanted to kill him openly, but because of the Byzantine emperor, he did not dare even to dishonor him openly, or to speak severely, to say nothing about killing him. Furthermore the people of his own land and all the troops were totally against doing anything of this sort to a man whom all the people of the land of Armenia were indebted for his just deeds, clean behavior and peaceful leadership. And because of [Nerses'] obvious miraculous deeds, everyone looked upon him as a heavenly angel. But the king was resentful of him and wanted to kill him, but did not even dare to speak of this lest his own troops kill him. For everyone so loved him and took refuge in his prayers, the grandees and the lowly, the venerable and the dishonored, the *azats* and the *shinakans*. [239]

24.

Regarding the death of the great chief archbishop Nerses [caused by] king Pap, how and why he was killed by him.

King Pap was always at odds with the great chief priest because this man of God, Nerses, was constantly reprimanding him on account of the wicked sins he was committing. [Pap] did not want to come to his senses or correct himself, but was also unable to bear the perpetual insulting reproaches. He planned to kill the great chief priest of God, Nerses. But since he was unable to do this openly, he falsely pretended that he had come to the correct way and beseeched the chief priest of God to administer penance to him. He called him to his mansion at Xax *awan* in [g220] the Ekegheac' district. He made a dinner for him and beseeched the man of

God to sit on the royal couch, as though by this he would be cleansed from his wickedness and thereafter would enter into atonement.

Now when [Pap] had seated [Nerses] [in the] foremost [place], the king himself stood bare-headed, moved to the middle of the floor, and offered Nerses, the man of God, some pure wine for that meal. But he had mixed poison into the drinking-vessel which he offered him. When [Nerses] drank from that cup, he immediately sensed what had [240] happened, and began to say: "Blessed is our Lord God Who made me worthy of drinking this cup and achieving the death which I had wanted from my childhood, for the Lord. I accept this cup of salvation and will call out the name of the Lord so that I too will be able to attain a part of the legacy of the saints, in the light. But as for you, oh king, it befits you as a king to openly order me killed. Who is stopping you, who stays your hand from doing what you want to do? But Lord, forgive them this deed which they have done to me; accept the soul of Your servant, You Who give rest to the weary and Who fulfills all goodness."

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History of the Armenians

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Chapter 24. (Continued from Previous Page)

[Nerses] said this and other similar things. He arose and went to his lodging place, leaving the court *tachar* and following him were all the grandee *naxarars* of Armenia, the *sparapet* of Armenia, Mushegh, and Hayr *mardpet*, indeed, all the people who were there followed [Nerses] to his lodging place. When they entered his residence [he] opened up his tunic and revealed a blue swelling over his heart, the size of a small loaf. The grandee *naxarars* offered him theriacs and antidotes to save him. But he did not want it, and rejected it, saying: "For me it was a great thing that I be allowed to die for expounding the commandments of Christ. You yourselves know that what I said [241] to you I said publicly, so it is fitting to be killed by you publicly, for that is what I had been longing for. In goodness I received [g221] my portion along with the chosen, and am pleased with my inheritance. I bless the Lord Who let me attain this portion of the inheritance, and I am extremely happy that soon I will be freed from this impious and profane world." [Nerses] said many things to them and told them to be careful, beseeching all of them to watch out for themselves and to keep the Lord's commandments.

After this for about two hours, globules of blood started to ooze from his mouth. Then he arose to pray. He kneeled and asked forgiveness for his murderers. After this he recalled everyone in his prayers, those near and far, the dishonored and the honored and even those whom he had never known. Upon completion of the prayers he lifted his hands and eyes to Heaven, and said: "Lord Jesus Christ, accept my soul." Having said this, his soul was released. The body of Nerses, the blessed man of God, was taken by the Church clerics, bishop P'awstos, the head of the clerics, Trdac, *sparapet* Mushegh, Hayr *mardpet* and all the *azatagund banak* of the court. They took him from the village of Xax, where the deed had been committed, to his own village in T'il *awan*. They buried the saint with psalms, [242] blessings, lit candles, great worship and much commemoration. However, before the saint's body was covered, king Pap himself went, took the body and buried it in the martyrs' resting place. Although king Pap was guilty, he pretended that he was not, as though he had not committed that deed [g222].

25.

Concerning the vision which appeared to the saintly men Shaghitay and Epip'an while they lived in the mountains.

There were two hermit clerics who at that time were living in the mountains. One was named Shaghitay, a Syrian by nationality, who lived up on Arhewc mountain. The other was named Epip'an, a Greek by nationality, who, dwelled on the great mountain, in the place of the gods, called the Throne of Anahit. Both of them had been students of the beloved Daniel, whom we recalled above. At the hour that saint Nerses died, while each [of the hermits] was in the mountains, each one saw with open eyes during the daytime, Nerses, the man of God, as though being taken to the clouds. For the angels of God were taking him upward, and the hosts were coming before him. When the hermits saw this vision, they were astonished. Shaghitay, however,

who was on [243] Arhewc mountain, since he was a sagacious man, realized that the holy Nerses had died and that it was his spirit which had appeared to him. Epip'an, on the other hand, thought that [Nerses] had been taken corporally. Each descended from the mountain and hurried to the district of Ekegheac', where they investigated and saw that the blessed patriarch Nerses was in fact dead. They went to T'il village and saw the place where he was buried. It was here that these two believing men encountered each other, and narrated before the people what they had seen. Those were men of angelic faith, nourished and living in the wilderness. They were able to work very great miracles and their deeds were known and familiar to everyone [g223].

26.

About the blessed Shaghitay

[Translator's note: This chapter contains an account of the healings and other miracles performed by Saghita after Nerses' death. He operated in the district of Korduk'. He prayed to God that when he died the people would not find his body (which they wanted to preserve). This wish was granted when, one day as he was walking on the water of a river, he sank] [g224.]

27.

About the blessed Epip'an.

[This chapter contains an account of Epip'an's wonders. After Nerses' death, he went to the wilderness of Greater Cop'k', to [244] a place called Mambre and lived in a cave above the Mamushegh river. He converted many pagans and filled the Cop'k' country with monasteries. Then he went to the Aghjnik' country which he also filled with monasteries. He built martyria in an *awan* of the city of Tigranakert [g225].

He tests one of his pupils concerning a beautiful woman. Epip'an departs for Byzantium [g226].

28.

When Epip'an departed, he left in Cop'k' many hermit clerics with a chief over them. Many of them were vegetarians who never drank wine [g227] [g228].

A certain hermit did not want to drink the wine of communion. He was punished by God and for penance was to live in a well. He decided to remain there for his entire life. [Translator's note: The above chapters are summaries of the text [g224-229] which are not translated here] [g229].

29.

Regarding Yusik, who was of the clan of bishop Aghbianos, and was appointed by king Pap as he willed and without [permission] from the great chief bishop of Caesarea; and how as a result of that, the authority of the Armenian patriarchs to ordain bishops was ended.

After the death of the patriarch Nerses, king Pap appointed bishop Yusik, who was a son [or descendant] of Aghbianos, bishop of [245] Manazkert. [Pap] ordered that he occupy the position of patriarch and rule in place of [the man] he had killed. And he did. But the archbishop of Caesarea heard that they had slain the

great patriarch Nerses and in his place had established Yusik. This had been done without his command, for they had been accustomed to take the patriarch to Caesarea for ordination.

Surprised at this turn of events, the patriarch of Caesarea became enraged. A synodical council of bishops took place in the state of Caesarea without the patriarch. They wrote a letter expressing great anger. They also wrote a letter to king Pap dissolving the authority of the *kat'oghikosate* [and saying that] whoever was the patriarch of Armenia could bless bread at court but should not dare to ordain bishops for Armenia as had initially been the custom. Subsequently the Armenians lost the authority to ordain bishops. Instead, those who would be bishops for all the different districts and regions of Armenia—bishops for [areas within] the boundaries of Armenia—would have to go to the city of Caesarea and become bishops there. For after this the authority was removed from the country of Armenia and [the Armenians] did not dare to ordain bishops. [246] However [the one] who was the senior of the bishops, only sat above [the others] and blessed bread for the kings [g230]. But [Yusik] did not dare to reprimand anyone; for he was timid and compliant. He held the dignity only through the wishes of the king and for all the days of his life he remained in silence and complacency.

30.

How they mourned the patriarch Nerses, and how they longed for him.

After Pap had killed the blessed patriarch Nerses, everyone became extremely sad. Everyone in the country of Armenia agreed and said: "The glory of Armenia has departed, for the just [man] of God has gone from this world." The princes and *naxarars* spoke: "We know now that our country is lost. The blood of a just man, unjustly condemned, was shed especially since he was killed for God." Mushegh, the *sparapet* of Armenia spoke: "The blood of God's saint was unjustly shed. Henceforth I cannot go against the enemies or aim a spear at anyone. I know that God has forsaken and abandoned us, and we will be unable to raise our heads. I know that there will be no victory over enemies for the country of Armenia. The prayers of the man who died and [those] of his *azg* caused the victories." All the *azats*, and *shinakans* from every nook and cranny of all the borders of the country of Armenia were mourning, the *azats*, *shinakans* [and] generally all the inhabitants of the *tun* of T'orgom, [speakers] of the Armenian language[g231]. [247]

31.

How king Pap, following the death of the patriarch Nerses, destroyed out of jealousy all the canonical rules which he had established.

Now Pap, the king of Armenia, although he had killed the patriarch of the land of Armenia, Nerses, nonetheless was not satiated by his death. Rather he tried to corrupt and obstruct the correct arrangements which Nerses had introduced into the Church. He began to act with jealousy regarding the canons established by him previously. He began to clearly order that the [homes] for widows and orphans which Nerses had built in the different districts of the land be destroyed, and that the walled residences for virgins which Nerses had built in the different districts and *awans*, built to protect securely from kidnapping, be destroyed. During his lifetime the venerable Nerses had built these residences in all the districts for virgins who were believers so that they could be gathered there for fasting and praying, to be fed from the land and from each family. King Pap ordered that these [institutions] be destroyed and that the believing virgins be subjected to abominable intercourse.

In all the *awans* and regions Nerses had also built hospitals, setting up stipends and provisions and he had left reliable overseers [248] for the sick and poor, people who feared God and were awaiting the eternal

judgements and the coming of Christ. The king chased the overseers from their superintendency and totally destroyed the places. Those who had been appointed overseers for the indigent and [g232] poor [Pap] persecuted completely. And he commanded every land under his sway: "Let the poor go out begging, let no one take food to them there [in the poor houses]. If they do not go forth beseeching and begging, they will hardly find anything." As for the arrangements for the *ptghi* and *tasanordi* [tithes] which had been stipulated from [the time of] the ancestors as customary for giving to the Church, [Pap issued] this order throughout the land: "Let no one give them."

During the days of patriarch Nerses no one dared to remove from himself or abandon his wedded wife throughout the entire country of Armenia, [a wife] he had taken with the blessing of the nuptial veil or crown. Nor in Nerses' day did anyone dare to take another's [wife]. If someone died unexpectedly, no one dared to weep for the deceased without hope, beyond the established canon of the Church, nor to lament excessively nor to make noises over the deceased. They would merely bury the deceased with tears, fitting psalms, blessings, lamps and lit candles. But after [Nerses'] death, everyone boldly took the king's command and left their wedded wives, [to the point] that [249] one man changed women ten times. And simultaneously they all turned to impiety. After Nerses' death, when [the people] mourned the dead, they wept, they danced mourning [dances to the accompaniment] of horns, *p'andirs* and *vins*, slashing their arms, tearing their faces, men and women committing monstrous abominations as they faced each other in the dance, striking their palms. Thus did they bury the dead.

Now during Nerses' day, the poor were never seen begging throughout all the borders of Armenia. Rather, they all remained in their places of repose, that is, in the leprosaria, and everyone took them everything they needed. Thus were they satiated, not needful of anyone. But after the death of the chief-priest, if anyone did anything to give ease to the poor, he would bear great punishment from the king [g233].

During Nerses' day the orders of worship of the Church were especially radiant and [there was] a multitude of blessed canonical clerics and commemoration of the blessed martyrs were always glowingly being conducted everywhere in Armenia in huge assemblies, and the *patiw* of the father-bishops grew in accordance with their worth in all [250] the districts of Armenia while the orders of monastics flourished both in the *shen* and the non-*shen* places. But after his death, all this was corrupted, polluted, and obstructed.

During the days of the chief-priest Nerses, by his order [people] had built in all the *shens* and villages of all parts of the districts of Armenia, dwellings for foreigners, hospitals, *otaranoc'k*, and everyone in the country of Armenia gave *ptghi* and alms, remembering the poor, the exploited, those in tribulation, foreigners, the exploited, rebels, exiles, guests and transients. For them the blessed Nerses set up superintendents and provisions everywhere. But after his death king Pap destroyed all this and dishonored the *patiw* of the Church. Furthermore many correctional arrangements and canons which the patriarch Nerses instituted were overturned and forgotten. After [Nerses'] departure from the world, many districts of Armenia and many people returned to the ancient worship of the gods, and they erected idols in many places of Armenia because of the boldness of king Pap. For there was no one to reprimand them, no one before whom they felt embarrassment. Whatever they wanted to do they did [251] brazenly. After erecting many images, they worshipped them.

Moreover, king Pap confiscated for the court the Church land which king Trdat of Armenia had given in service to the worship of the Church in the entire country of Armenia, during the time of the great chief-priest Gregory. Of seven lands, [Pap] confiscated five, leaving only two [for the Church]. In accordance with the size of the land, he left two [clerics] in [g234] service, a priest and a deacon, while placing in service to himself the brothers and sons of priests and deacons. He thought by behaving in this fashion, to express the hostility he had for [Nerses], he would move despite [his policies]. But he never thought about his personal ruination. In that period all the orders of Church worship declined throughout the entire country of Armenia.

How king Pap turned from the emperor of the Byzantines and was slain by Byzantine military commanders.

Then king Pap changed his mind and turned his heart away from the Byzantine emperor, wanting to have unity and friendship with the Iranian king. He began to support the king of Iran and to send messengers [252] regarding alliance. He also sent messengers to the Byzantine emperor saying: "Caesarea and ten [other] cities belong to us, so give them up. The city of Edessa was built by our ancestors. If you don't want any disturbance, give them up. Otherwise, we will wage great warfare." But Mushegh and all the Armenian princes frequently advised the king not to destroy the covenant with the Byzantine empire. However, [Pap] did not heed them and expressed the enmity which he had with the Byzantine emperor.

Now the Byzantine princes and their troops were still in the country of Armenia. These princes were named Terent and Ade. The Byzantine emperor secretly sent an emissary to the princes of his troops who were in the country of Armenia and ordered them to kill the king of Armenia, Pap. When the princes received this command from the Byzantine emperor, they waited for an opportune moment to [g235] kill king Pap. This moment occurred when Terent and Ade, the generals of the Byzantine troops, knew that king Pap was alone, that all the grandees and the Armenian troops were not there. [At that time] king Pap was encamped at a place called Xu in a plain of Bagrewand district, while the Byzantine troops were nearby. So the Byzantine generals prepared a grand banquet and invited the great king of Armenia, Pap, to dinner. This was done grandly, in accordance with his worth, as [253] was the rule in calling a king to a banquet. They organized and prepared.

King Pap went to the dinner, entered [the dining area], and sat down to eat and drink. When the king entered the tent of the Byzantine general Terent [he noticed] the legion of shield-bearing foot soldiers positioned around the inside walls of the tent with shields in hand, and battle-axes at their waist. Similarly, outside stood men ready, heavily armed under their clothing. King Pap thought that this had been done to honor him in some way. While he was eating, the troops with the battle-axes stood behind and on all sides of him. When they were drinking wine, they offered the first festive cup to king Pap. The drummers, flutists, harpists and horns all began to play, all making their own different tasteful sounds. There sat king Pap, holding the festive cup of wine in his hands, looking at the diverse crowd of *gusans*. As he leaned on his left elbow, he held in his left hand a golden drinking goblet, while his right hand was fingering the handle of his sabre which was attached to his right thigh. His cup was to his mouth to drink, and his eyes were fixed straight ahead on the diverse crowd of *gusans*. With an eye gesture, the order was given to the shield-bearing Byzantine troops. Suddenly two of the legionnaires who stood behind [Pap] [g236] bearing shields with gold bosses, raised their battle-axes and struck [254] king Pap. One cut his neck while the other battle-axe sliced off the right hand which was on the handle of his sabre. The hand fell off. King Pap fell on his face then and there. The wine from the goblet, the blood from his neck and [Pap's] body fell together onto the table as king Pap perished immediately. In the confusion arising in the *tachar*, Gnel, lord of the Anjewac'ik' district, arose from his couch, drew his sword, and struck and killed one of the legionnaires who had killed the king. Then the Byzantine general Terent drew his own sword and cut off Gnel's head above the eyes. And no one could say anything about it. Not a thing.

What the Armenian princes conferred about, and how they kept silent.

There gathered together all the grandee princes of Armenia, *sparapet* Mushegh, and Hayr *mardpet*. All of the princes asked: "What shall we do, how shall we act? Should we seek to avenge our king or not?" Then they confirmed in discussion that: "We cannot enter the service of the pagan Iranians and make an enemy of the

Byzantine emperor, nor can we make enemies of both of them. But we cannot survive without the aid of one of them." They reached the conclusion that what had happened was past. "Let us serve the Byzantine emperor and remain obedient to the authority of the Byzantine empire, and do [255] as it says." In no way did they plan to seek vengeance or to do anything else. Rather, they passed over it in silence [g237].

34.

The enthronement of Varazdat over the country of Armenia after Pap.

After the death of king Pap of Armenia, the Byzantine emperor made a certain Varazdat the king. He was from the same Arsacid *tohm*. He came with much pomp, entered the country of Armenia, and ruled as king. He was a youth, full of bravery, with powerful hands, a brave heart, but light-minded, with a child's capricious cunning. However when all the *azgs* of Armenia's grandees saw him, they gathered around him and were delighted that he would reign over them.

Mushegh, the *sparapet* of Armenia, was leading Armenia, protecting all the borders as was his custom, and he offered good advice to the young king Varazdat. He was constantly concerned about the kingdom of the land of Armenia, how it might be kept/made to flourish. He was always giving good advice so that the kingdom could remain secure. He also consulted with the Byzantine princes, and through them with the emperor that they should build "cities" in the country of Armenia. [He suggested] that secure, walled military bases [be constructed] one in every district with a city, and two where there were two [cities] throughout the entire country of Armenia, as far as Ganjak on the [256] Iranian side, which was the border of Armenia. [He proposed] that all the Armenian *azats* should be provided with imperial stipends as well as the troops of the country of Armenia. Thus there would be full attention directed at their enemy, the Iranian troops. The Byzantine emperor was overjoyed to do this, for in this manner the land would be totally secure and not move away from him, and the king of Iran would be unable to make the land of Armenia his own [g238].

35.

How the Armenian king Varazdat heeded the words of malicious and senseless men and killed Mushegh, the general of Armenia.

When the great *naxarars* of Armenia saw that king Varazdat was a gullible youth, unable to differentiate good from bad, they began to manipulate the king in accordance with their wishes. With their words they led him around, any way they wanted. Varazdat was more attentive to what youths his own age said, than to what wise old people (who could have given beneficial advice) offered him.

Bat, the *nahapet* of the *azg* of the Saharhuni *tohm*, was the *dayeak*-nourisher of king Varazdat. He wanted to appropriate for himself Mushegh's position of general-*sparapet*. Consequently he began to slander him to his *san* ["foster-son"] king Varazdat, saying: "From the [time of the] first ancestors onward, the Mamikoneans have been ruining your Arsacid *tohm*, for they have been your adversaries from the start. They have always [257] been consuming the country of Armenia. This is especially true of Mushegh, who is a wicked and duplicitous man. Your enemies love him and those dear to you hate him. In his dealings with you, he had always acted treacherously, duplicitously, and maliciously. For is Mushegh not the one who, during the reign of Pap, during the Iranian battles, could have slain king Shapuh of Iran several times, but did not? Rather, he released the enemy. On one occasion he got hold of king Shapuh's women, but sent them back to Shapuh in palanquins with care. Was it not that very Mushegh who got hold of the king of Aghuania, Urhnayr, and did not want to kill him, but instead released the enemy? Was it not by Mushegh's order and acting on his advice that the Byzantine generals killed king Pap? For [Mushegh] aggravated the Byzantine emperor [g239] and

caused him to have a grudge against king Pap until he had him killed. It is fitting for him to die at your hands; he should not live. King, if you do not make haste, he is planning to fill up the country of Armenia with cities and make [it] a military base inhabited by Byzantine troops. After that, either the Byzantine emperor will remove the kingship of Armenia from you, or Mushegh will kill you and rule himself." [People] were constantly provoking the king with such words secretly, until [Varazdat] agreed with their wishes, to kill the *sparapet* general of Armenia.

[258] So they plotted how they could seize [Mushegh], for they were greatly afraid of him. They said: "If he should realize what is happening, he will conduct a great war. No one can withstand his bravery; the only possible solution is through artifice." Thus they were waiting for him. One day king Varazdat of Armenia commanded that a great dinner be readied, and they made great preparations. [Varazdat] ordered that all the senior honorable [men], the grandees, and general Mushegh be called to the dinner. Varazdat prepared select, powerful, mighty men capable of the job of falling upon Mushegh at an unsuspected moment. [Varazdat] made [the invitees] very merry, gave them a lot of wine to drink and made much happy diversion. Prior to this king Varazdat had given this signal to the one prepared to do the killing: "When you know that *sparapet* Mushegh is out of his mind with drink, I will arise on the pretext of relieving myself and you surround him." They passed to the drinking and had passed the limit, but king Varazdat kept himself away from the wine. When Varazdat believed that [Mushegh] was incapacitated from drunkenness, he got up on the pretext of going to the privy, and all the nobility stood up as if to honor him. Then suddenly, the twelve men to whom the order had been given, seized Mushegh, six on one side of him, and [g240] six on the other. When the king got up, [Mushegh] looked at him [inquiringly] and said: "What is this"? The king replied, saying: "Go to king Pap and ask him what it is." The king went outside and Mushegh said: "Is this my reward for my many labors of blood and sweat, and [259] for the sweat that I wiped away with the blade? Death should have come to me while I was mounted on a horse..." He had time to say this much and no more, for king Varazdat's *dayeak* Bat Saharhuni removed the sabre he had affixed to his thigh, and slit general Mushegh's throat, cutting off his head. [People] picked up his body and took it to his village.

36.

About the foolish opinions held by Mushegh's family and other folk.

When they had taken the body of *sparapet* Mushegh to his *tun*, to his family, his family did not believe his death, despite the fact that they could see his head separated from his body. They said: "He has been in countless battles and never received a wound. No arrow has ever struck him, nor has anyone's weapon pierced him." Half of them expected him to resurrect, so they sewed the head back onto the torso and placed it on the roof of a tower, saying: "Because he was a brave man, the *arhlezk'* will descend and cause him to arise." They guarded [Mushegh] expecting his resurrection, until his body putrified. Then they brought him down from the tower, and wept over and buried him, as was the proper way [g241].

37.

Regarding the return of Manuel from Iranian captivity and his avenging of Mushegh, and his expulsion of king Varazdat from the country of Armenia.

King Varazdat put his *dayeak* Bat, *nahapet* of the Saharhunik' *tohm*, Mushegh's slanderous tale-bearing murderer, in the job of [260] the generalship-*sparapetut'iwn*. [Bat] was *sparapet* in place of him, general of all Armenia. The king made *tanuter nahapet* of the *azg* of the Mamikonean *tohm* a man named Vach'e, of the same *tohm*.

In that period two brothers of the Mamikonean *tohm* returned from captivity in Iran, where they had been taken by king Shapuh. One [brother] was named Manuel; the other Koms [or Kon]. At that time the Sasanian king of Iran was warring with the great Arsacid king of the Kushans, who resided in the city of Bagh [Balkh]. When the Iranian troops went to the Kushan war, those people whom the Iranian king had taken captive from Armenia were sent along. Manuel also went there with his brother Koms. When the two brigades clashed against each other, the Iranian troops were defeated by the Kushans, and as they turned in flight [the Kushans] came upon them, raining incredible blows down upon them. They did not let a single Iranian soldier survive, including the newsbearer [*banber*], although Manuel (son of Artashen of the Mamikonean *tohm*) and his brother, Koms, did in fact survive, [fleeing] on foot. After displaying much bravery in that battle, of all the Iranian troops only these two reached the Iranian king safe and sound [g242].

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[261] The Iranian king was greatly saddened because of the destruction of his troops. He was furious that of all his troops, only these two had survived. He got angry at them, dishonored and chased them from his boundaries, dispatching them to their own country. So they came to their country. Both brothers were on foot, both were fantastically large, having the aspects of offspring of a giant. As they were travelling it happened that Manuel was unable to proceed because his feet hurt. His brother Koms picked him up and carried him one hundred *xrasax* distance, carrying such a fantastically enormous man to the country of Armenia. When Manuel and his brother Koms reached the country of Armenia and when Vach'e saw the one who previously was the *nahapet*, even before he arrived [Vach'e] gave him the *patiw* of the principality which he had received from king Varazdat, since he was the senior of the *azg*. Manuel had the *patiw* of the *nahapetut'iwn* of the *azg*'s *tanuterut'iwn*, while Vach'e was second.

Once Manuel had come into the glory of his *tanuterut'iwn*, first he seized for himself the generalship-*sparapetut'iwn* without the order of king Varazdat. Manuel took the authority for himself [262] [in an office] which had been held naturally by his ancestors from the start, which king Varazdat had bestowed on his *dayeak*, Bat. Then the *sparapet* of Armenia, Manuel, sent a letter to king Varazdat, saying: "All the labors our *azg* had performed from the time of our ancestors in ancient times onward were loyally done for you Arsacids. We gave our lives, living and dying for you. All of our first ancestors fell in battle for you. Mushegh's father, Vasak, died in battle for king Arshak, and we have always labored and worked for the kingdom of your *azg*. Instead of giving rewards in exchange for the labor, you Arsacids destroyed those [Mamikoneans] not killed by the enemies [g243]. Now that brave man Mushegh, my brother, from his childhood onward labored with his life for you. He defeated and destroyed your enemies, and the enemies were unable to kill him. But you seized him on his couch and strangled him. In fact, you are not even an Arsacid, but a bastard. Therefore you do not recognize those who labor for the Arsacids. We are not your servants but your peers, and we are above you. For our ancestors were kings of the land of Chenk'. Because of a quarrel among brothers, [to avoid] bloodshed, we left that [land] and to find rest we stopped here [in Armenia]. The first Arsacid kings knew who we were and where we came from. But you, since you are not an Arsacid, begone from this land and do not perish at my hands."

[263] King Varazdat sent a reply to general Manuel, saying: "If I am not an Arsacid, how did I put on the crown of my Arsacid ancestors, or take the land of my forbears or seek vengeance for my uncle (father's brother) Pap from your evil-doing brother Mushegh? Since as you yourself said, you are not from this land, but from the country of the Chenac' land (where you were kings naturally) and since you came here as exiles, do not die as your brother did. Because of my benevolence I am releasing you. Go to the Chenac' country, stay there, and rule your country there as king. But if you do not want to go, you will die by my hand, just as Mushegh died.

Now when messengers had gone and come many times, with the messages becoming increasingly severe, the two [antagonists] made a date to confront each other in battle. When that time arrived, they came forth to fight. King Varazdat took the troops of his *banak* and [g244] went to the place designated for battle armed, arranged, and prepared, with Varazdat himself more prepared than the others. The *sparapet* Manuel went to

the same place with his brigade. The place where the two brigades clashed was in the plain of Karin.

King Varazdat and *sparapet* Manuel took spears and went against each other as champions. When king Varazdat raised his eyes, he saw *sparapet* Manuel coming at him, so enormous, grand, securely armored [264] from head to toe in impenetrable iron armor, personally strong, on a steady horse covered with horse armor. [Varazdat] regarded him as a tall inaccessible mountain. Nonetheless, with death on his mind, he attacked, not thinking about living. King Varazdat was a young man and uninformed about fighting. When he saw [Manuel so armored], he realized that the spear would not work because of the armor. So he took the spear and forcefully thrust it into general Manuel's mouth. Now Manuel grabbed the spear, removing the tip from himself, from his cheek. He lost many teeth removing the king's spear.

King Varazdat fled from the sight of general Manuel. [As he chased him] Manuel took the tip of the spear and beat the head of king Varazdat. He did this as he chased him over a distance of four *asparez*. Then Manuel's sons, Hmayeak and Artashes, each with spear in hand, attacked the king. But Manuel himself shouted after his sons: "Do not be killers of [your] lord." They heeded their father's words and swiftly turned from [Varazdat]. On that day the *ark'unakan* [royal] brigade was defeated by the Manuelean brigade.

There was no more fighting after that. A few dead men lay [g245] across the face of the plain, as did many who had been pierced and the [265] seriously wounded. Many *naxarars* had perished. Many of those fleeing were pursued. While the Manuelean brigade was going after the fugitives, Hamazaspean, a *sepuh* of the Mamikonean *tohm* went over the fallen corpses and [the bodies of] those who were wounded in the battle. Among the fallen was Garegin, lord of the district of Rhshtunik'—but he was alive, neither wounded nor injured. This Garegin had been the brother-in-law [*p'esa*] of Hamazaspe, having been married to the latter's sister, Hamazaspuhi. But when king Shapuh had come to the country of Armenia, [Garegin] left his wife and fled. So they took Hamazaspuhi to the country of Tosp, to the city of Van where the Iranians hanged her from a lofty tower over a cave. They killed her on the gallows.

The day that Garegin landed among the fallen, his brother-in-law [*aner*], Hamazasp, was going over them. Garegin cried out; "Lord Hamazaspean, look after me. Command that a steed be brought so that I mount." Hamazaspean said to him: "Who are you?" He replied: "I am Garegin Rhshtuni. Hamazaspean ordered the shield-bearers who were with him: "Get down and cover him with your shields." Then he went. The shield-bearers got down, put their shields over him and remained there guarding [him] in accordance with the order given.

[266] After this a certain Danun, the *gumapet* of the shield-bearing soldiers of the Manuelean brigade came by and saw that the shield-bearers had dismounted and were guarding Garegin. He asked them: "Who is that and why have you dismounted here?" They replied: "This is Garegin, lord of Rhshtunik'. Hamazaspean ordered us to dismount and guard him." Danun became furiously angry and said: "So, Hamazaspean wants to make him his *p'esa* again, and to give [Garegin] his sister Hamazaspuhi in marriage. For that reason he [g246] spared him and ordered him guarded." Then [Danun] dismounted, took out his sword and cut [Garegin] to pieces.

All the other troops were still coming from the battle, bringing along the many [men] they had arrested, They seized Bat (the one who had slandered Mushegh to king Varazdat, Mushegh's killer) with his son into the presence of *sparapet* Manuel. Also they seized others who supported these acts and brought all of them to him. *Sparapet* Manuel judged the impious Bat with great examination. First he ordered that [Bat's] son be slain in his presence, then he had [Bat] beheaded. He had others destroyed in a similar fashion. They chased Varazdat outside the boundaries of the country of Armenia. He went to the country of the Byzantines where he lived his life and died.

[267] The *sparapet* general of Armenia, Manuel, subdued the land and gathered all the grandees and *naxarars* of Armenia. He was their guide and head, ruling his principality [or: exerting his authority] and

giving the commands of the land in place of the king. He kept the land in cultivation. He took king Pap's wife, *tikin* Zarmanduxt, with [her] Arsacid sons, keeping [them] in the king's place [and] causing them to circulate around in honor. As long as [Manuel] lived he led the land of Armenia with great wisdom and much success. Of the two Arsacid lads, the senior one was named Arshak, and the junior one, Vagharshak. *Sparapet* Manuel nourished them as *sans* and honored their mother, Zarmanduxt, in the great glory of the *tiknut'iwn*. But when Manuel saw that what was being done ran contrary to the orders of the Byzantine emperor, he reasoned that he should have at least someone to support him. They took counsel with the *tikin*; he wanted to support the Iranian king [g247].

38.

How Mushegh, the sparapet of Armenia, together with the entire land gave his hand to the Iranian king, and brought Suren as the first marzpan and governor of the land of Armenia from the Iranian king; and how he was exalted by him with great gifts; and how, because of the duplicity of Meruzhan Arcruni, a rebellion broke out followed by war.

Now after this, Zarmanduxt, the *tikin* of Armenia, and *sparapet* Manuel sent Garjoyl Maghxaz and many of the Armenian *naxarars* with him to the king of Iran, bearing *hrovartaks*, presents and gifts. This [268] was to show support for him and to defend him, to [offer to] serve him loyally, and to give him the land of Armenia. Garjoyl and those with him arrived at the court of the Iranian king. They gave him the *hrovartaks* of the *tikin* and the *sparapet* of Armenia as well as the messages of obedience which had been sent. As soon as the Iranian king saw them, he received them with delight, honoring them with great exaltation. He gave Garjoyl great *pargew*.

[The king] sent to the country of Armenia along with [Garjoyl] one of his wealthy *naxarars*, an Iranian named Suren. He also sent 10,000 armed cavalrymen, so that Suren could go to the land of Armenia, help general Manuel and protect *tikin* Zarmanduxt from enemies. The Iranian king had Suren take a crown, a robe, and the emblem of kings to *tikin* Zarmanduxt and crowns to the two young Arsacids, Arshak and Vagharshak. He also sent to *sparapet* Manuel a royal robe, a sable, a *patiw* for the head with a gold and silver *gargmanak* and the figure of an eagle held to the crown with an *ashxarawand* clasp; an *apizak* brooch of honor for the chest, which by law only kings have; a tent of red leather and on it the figure of an eagle; very great hangings, and skyblue parasols [g248]. He sent *sparapet* Manuel gold *tachar* vessels, and by his own hand gave [269] him great authority over the land of Armenia.

Garjoyl Xorxorhuni came to the country of Armenia bringing along the Iranian Suren with 10,000 [troops]. They brought the *pargews* for the *tikin* and her children as well as for *sparapet* Manuel. They also had *pargews* for each of the nobles, *tanuters*, and grandees of Armenia. When *tikin* Zarmanduxt and the *sparapet* general of Armenia, Manuel, saw the exaltation and affection of the Iranian king, with great delight they exalted Suren. They entrusted the land of Armenia to Suren and were obedient to the commands of the Iranian king. From the land of Armenia they set up taxes for the king of Iran, giving presents and gifts, and also [providing] *has*, shoes, and the necessary stipends for the *marzpan* Suren and victuals and necessary food for the 10,000 [troops]. They sincerely supported them, considering the king of Iran as their lord whom they served. Ambassadors of the Iranian king were constantly coming and going to the country of Armenia. They greatly displayed to the king the intimacy of the alliance which existed, and [the king] was constantly sending *pargews* to *tikin* Zarmanduxt and to Manuel, the general of Armenia. Manuel was very intimate with the king of Iran, beloved by him, and he was greatly glorified by him. [270] When Meruzhan Arcruni saw all the glory of seniority with which the Iranian king glorified Manuel (for he honored him as a brother or a son), he became very jealous of Manuel's glory, and sought some means of removing him from his favored position with the Iranian king, in order to be himself the beloved one. But when [Meruzhan] was unable to find any ruse except treachery toward the Iranians he plotted some wicked treachery and advanced his work with

hypocrisy. He pretended to enter into intimacy with general Manuel [g249], [trying] first to win him over through [acts of] subordination, to please him with intimacy. Then he gave himself out to appear as [Manuel's] trustee and guardian. Next he came to deliver this false and capricious information: "Know, oh Manuel, that an emissary has come from the king of Iran to Suren with an order to seize and bind you and either to kill you here, or to bind you with great care, foot, hand, and neck, and to take you to the king of Iran. So be advised and think what you will do." When Manuel heard this he was astonished inwardly and said: "I have committed no transgressions against the Iranians, so why are they doing this to us?" Meruzhan said to Manuel: "I have verified and confirmed it, and it is so." When Manuel believed what Meruzhan had told him as accurate, the general of Armenia organized a brigade and assembled many troops. Thus, while Suren was peacefully encamped with his *banak* in unconcerned peace without a [271] suspicion of duplicity (since in fact there was no treachery being planned as the gossiping malefactor Meruzhan had said) suddenly the general of Armenia, Manuel, fell upon Suren's *banak* unexpectedly, killing the 10,000 Iranian soldiers. However, [Manuel] granted the *marzpan* Suren his life as a *pargew* and let him go on a horse. Suren was surprised at what had happened, and wanted to know why. Manuel said to Suren: "Because of the affection of friendship, I am releasing you to go on your way in health. But I will not fall into the Iranian trap again." Then Manuel organized the Armenian brigade and prepared the men. Thereafter he knew that he had aroused great hostility and aggravation of the Iranian king. Then the general of Armenia, Manuel [g250], and the entire brigade taking king Pap's wife, Zarmanduxt, at their head caused them to circulate around in the place of kings. They themselves were waging war for the cultivation of the land of Armenia on all sides against the enemies and neighbors around them, and especially against the Iranian troops. [Manuel did this] all the days of his life. But Meruzhan went to the king of Iran and made accusation against Manuel.

39.

Regarding Gumand Shapuh, who was sent by the Iranian king to war against Armenia, and how he perished with his troops, [defeated] by Manuel.

Then the Iranian king dispatched Gumand Shapuh with 48,000 [troops] to go to Armenia, take, and ruin the country. They came to the border of Armenia which is on the Atrpayakan side. As soon as [272] Armenia's general, Manuel, heard about this, he assembled as many troops as he could lay hands on in those troubled times, some 20,000 men, and hastened against that brigade. [Manuel] put the Iranian troops to the sword, killed Gumand Shapuh, and again emerged with great triumph.

40.

Concerning Varaz, who was sent by the Iranian king, and who perished at Manuel's hands, just as his predecessor did.

Then a certain Varaz, general of the king of Iran, came to the country of Armenia with 180,000 [troops] to war with *sparapet* Manuel and with the entire Armenian brigade. Armenia's *sparapet* general Manuel organized and prepared 10,000 armed cavalrymen and [g251] came to war against Varaz. He struck and killed, exterminating, and killing the principal, Varaz. He took a huge amount of loot, the ornaments and weapons of the troops, and returned in great peace.

41.

About Mrhkan who also was sent against the country of Armenia by the Iranian king with numerous troops,

and who perished at Manuel's hand, as had his predecessors.

After all this, the Iranian king sent Mrhkan with 400,000 [troops] against the country of Armenia. He arrived and took a part of the country of Armenia encamping on the Artandan plain. Manuel fell upon the *banak* at night, put all in the entrenchment to the sword, [273] killed Mrhkan, and took much booty. He did not spare a single one of them.

42.

Regarding the seven years of peace in Armenia.

After this for seven years the Iranian troops did not dare enter the borders of Armenia. There was peace in the country. All the dispersed [people] of the country assembled near general Manuel, coming together and encamping without a care. General Manuel directed them. Then three surviving lads from the *tun* of Siwnik' who had survived the Iranian destruction came to Armenia's general, Manuel. They were named Babik, Sam, and Vaghinak. Manuel [g252], Armenia's general, received them. He helped them, returning them to their country. He made Babik the *ter* and the two [others], each according to his measure. Babik was the comrade-in-arms [of Manuel] all the days of his life. Similarly, Armenia's *sparapet*, Manuel, set up *nahapets* and lords in all the districts. He directed everyone in peace. All the days of his life the entire country of Armenia was at peace under Manuel's protection. All the people in the country enjoyed their days eating and drinking and making merry those seven years of Manuel's lordship—until the division of the country of Armenia and the destruction of the kingdom. [274]

43.

How Meruzhan Arcruni came against Manuel with many Iranian troops and was killed by him.

Already in the days of king Arshak, Meruzhan Arcruni had rebelled from the king of Armenia, had voluntarily extended his hand to the king of Iran, accepted the Mazdean faith and apostatized Christianity. Many times he guided the Iranian troops, inflicting very great evils upon the country of Armenia. [Meruzhan] was still with the king of Iran. But this Meruzhan greatly provoked the king of Iran, taking many troops from him, and coming to the country of Armenia. He had greatly boasted before the Iranian king that he would either seize, bind and bring Manuel to the Iranian king, or else he would behead him and bring his head to the king.

[Meruzhan] with the entire multitude of the Iranian troops reached the country of Armenia. He left a *banak* in the Korchek' district, then with his own personal brigade of assembled bandits he separated from the Aryan brigade. He wanted to come and spring [g253] upon Manuel unawares and he wanted to do this himself so that he could boast that he, personally, had concluded the war. To accomplish this he spoke to the generals of the Aryan brigade as follows: "I will go first and spy and then will take you upon them. In this fashion it will be easy to grab [Manuel]." [Meruzhan], taking his brigade, came [275] to the country of Kog district. He stopped somewhere and spied on Manuel's *banak*.

The spies went and observed Manuel's army which was in Bagrewand district, in the *awan* of Baguan, close to the ruins of the city of Zarehawand. The observers came and examined Manuel's *banak* and the herd of horses of the *banak* which were at liberty. They went back and gave this information. [Meruzhan] thought to get hold of the *banak* herd because it would bring attention to himself. He delightedly boasted to his troops that: "Tomorrow I will seize Manuel and his wife, Vardanoysh, will be disgraced in his presence." He went off to accomplish the deed, anxious to attain his end. In the place through which the brigade had travelled were some mountains called Eghjerk' ["Horns"] by the inhabitants. While Meruzhan was on the road with his

brigade, he encountered travellers whom he asked: "Which way does the road to Bagrewand pass?" The travellers responded: "The road is through Eghjerk'." Meruzhan took augury by this greatly inwardly, and was saddened by these words. He ordered that the travellers be wickedly dragged and beaten. Then as he went along the route, he turned to Chaldean magic to consult the lots. But the witchcraft he consulted did not give him a favorable reading.

[276] So in great anger [Meruzhan] sent his spies ahead to find some way of seizing the herd. But when he reached the place where the horses [had been kept], he did not find the herd. For God so had it that according to the preparedness of the Armenian brigade, the *sparapet* Manuel had designated a time [g254] for the entire brigade to go hunting. Consequently it happened that the whole herd had been driven to the *shen* and were ready to be mounted for the hunt. Then a news-bearer came to Armenia's general, Manuel, saying: "Be advised that Meruzhan Arcruni is coming against you with a large brigade."

All the troops of the Armenian brigade organized and prepared, as did *sparapet* Manuel. They went before the blessed bones of John [the Baptist, whose chapel] was in that village, to make a covenant and beseech God, to call upon the aid of the righteous judge, to assist them with a visitation. Then they went outside. They accompanied the Arsacid *tikin*, with the youths Arshak and Vagharsak and their women to a stronghold on the great mountain called Varaz. Manuel ordered Vache's son, the youth Artawazd, to go along with the women. But [Artawazd] refused. He was a small boy. In the fashion of children, in accordance with the religion and rule of Armenia, the youth Artawazd's head was shaven with a long braid left free. Now [277] when [Artawazd] refused to go with the women, Manuel raised his whip and beat upon his bare head. He forced him not to go into battle because of his youthful age. So [Artawazd] went with [the women] while [Manuel] was looking, but afterwards he armed, organized, and readied to go to fight.

When they had accompanied the *tikin* and all their baggage to the stronghold, [the soldiers] themselves armed, arranged and prepared for battle. They gathered in one place with emblems and banners fluttering free, coming out of the western side of Gewgh *awan*. Meruzhan came before them with his brigade. The sinful malefactor Meruzhan had placed his own weapon, ornament and helmet emblem on many [men] in his brigade [g255], causing many to resemble him. But he himself did not use his own emblem. As soon as Manuel saw their brigade, with his own brigade he fell upon them, resembling a lion or a wild boar. Observing those [men] who bore Meruzhan's emblems, he thought to kill Meruzhan. They beheaded many champions who had Meruzhan's emblem, but saw that they were not Meruzhan.

Then *sparapet* Manuel began to speak with his comrade-in-arms, Babik, saying: "Do you see how that sorcerer Meruzhan has tricked us? I recognize a sign of him from the many times during peace between us that we were in one place together. For when he is mounted on a horse, his thighs do not hug the horse but fly free of the horse. Come now, [278] and look at these identical emblems. Perhaps we can discover the sorcerer of the lots." Both of them put their minds to it and looked for Meruzhan. They recognized him disguised, not wearing his own emblem. Then Manuel called Meruzhan forward, saying to him: "Hey, sorcerer, how long are you going to deceive us and permit others to be killed because of you? We have spotted you and today you will not survive our hands. For today the Lord God has visited your evil upon your own head. The Lord has betrayed you into our hands." Now when Meruzhan heard that, he immediately took his spear and went forward to be Manuel's *axoyean*. But when they struck each other with the spears (since both of them were huge men) both fell off their horses onto the ground. Then Manuel's comrade-in-arms, Babik, lord of the district of Siwnik', arrived and pinned [Meruzhan] to the ground with his spear by thrusting it into his side, such that [Meruzhan] was unable to arise. *Sparapet* Manuel was put on a horse by his grooms, and they cut off Meruzhan's head. All the troops fled when they saw that Meruzhan had died.

Then the Manuelean brigade, urging each other on, went in pursuit of the [g256] Meruzhanean brigade. They struck and killed them, not allowing a single one to live. The youth Artawazd, unbeknownst to Manuel, had come to the battle. He had armed, organized and entered [279] [the fight] separately from the Manuelean brigade, and he [halted] by the banks of the Euphrates river. He struck and killed a countless multitude of

armed men from the Meruzhanean brigade. When one of Meruzhan's emblem-bearers saw Artawazd he ridiculed him. For he saw a handsome, robust, beardless youth. With emblem on spear, he attacked him. Entering the encounter, he struck the man with an arrow. The arrow passed right through him and the corpse fell to the ground. Taking the spear, [Artawazd] pursued the fugitives. Artawazd the youth, son of Vach'e, put to the sword more of Meruzhan's troops than all of them. And [Artawazd returned] with a great renown and much loot, which they had taken from the enemy troops.

But on that day there was an unbelievably great loss, for the horse of Manuel's second, Vach'e, fell and killed [Vach'e]. Garjoyl Maghxaz was also killed as a result of his horse, for both of them had mounted untrained horses.

Manuel then went to the *tikin's banak*. They took Meruzhan's head with them. Samuel, Vahan's son, did not happen to be with Manuel then, since he returned to the *banak*. When the women of Manuel's *banak* saw Meruzhan's head they started to shriek loudly, since they thought it was the head of Vahan's son Samuel (because Meruzhan and Samuel resembled each other). But after looking at Meruzhan's head, which was impaled on a long spike, they realized that it belonged not [280] to Samuel but to Meruzhan Arcruni. But they said: "He is, nonetheless, our brother." Then they brought to the *banak* the bodies of Vach'e [g257] (Artawazd's father) and of Garjoyl Maxaz Xorhxorhuni for whom they lamented greatly and wept. Then they brought [the body of] the man who had been Meruzhan's emblem-bearer, whom Artawazd had felled with an arrow. Everyone was amazed at this, since the arrow had passed right through him. When they saw him, he was saved from death. Now when the Iranian troops which Meruzhan had left in the Korchek' district learned that Meruzhan had perished and that the brigade with him had been lost, they themselves fled to the country of Iran. There was much peace in the land of Armenia.

P'awstos Buzandac'i's

History of the Armenians

Book Five

44.

How the great sparapet Manuel enthroned the lad Arshak, and how Manuel then died.

After all this, general *sparapet* Manuel went to the district of Karin taking along the Arsacid *tikin*, the two youths, Arshak and Vagharshak, and all the Armenian *banak* with the grandee nobility of *naxarars*, and all the *tanuters*. *Sparapet* Manuel married his own daughter, Vardanduxt, to the youth Arshak Arshakuni, making him his son-in-law. He also held a wedding for [Arshak's] brother Vagharshak, marrying him to the daughter of the Bagratid *aspet* from the Sper district. [The Bagratids] were coronants of the kings of the *azg* [281] of the Arsacid kingdom, from the beginning. The entire country of Armenia celebrated the wedding in delighted exuberance. After this, once again all the people of the country of Armenia gathered and enthroned the youth Arshak as king of the country of Armenia and Vagharshak as his second. At this, the entire country of Armenia rejoiced yet more [g258].

After this Manuel, the *sparapet* general of Armenia, became sick with a fatal illness. He called his son Artashir and gave him his *terut'iwn*, *sparapetut'iwn* and generalship and ordered him to be an obedient and loyal subject of king Arshak: "Try and labor and give your life in warfare for the land of Armenia just as [your] brave ancestors were ready to die for the land. To God that righteousness is great and acceptable, and He will not abandon you when it is so. Leave a name for bravery on earth and you will be granted righteousness in Heaven. In no way fear death; rather, place faith in Him Who made and confirmed everything. Stand clear of duplicity, abomination and evil, and worship the Lord God with sanctity and loyalty. Die courageously for the pious land, for that itself represents death for God, for His Churches, His covenant and for the natural Arsacid lords of the land."

After this [Manuel] wrote a *hrovartak* to the Byzantine emperor entrusting the land of Armenia and king Arshak to him. Manuel lay sick [282] on his bed, surrounded by king Arshak and Vardanduxt (the king's wife) all the *awags* and *naxarars* of Armenia, men and women, generally all the prominent people. In the presence of all of them Manuel exposed all his limbs to them, revealing that there was not an area—even the size of a *dram*—which had not been wounded in battle. There were more than fifty scars, including on his male member, which he displayed to all of them. He began to weep, saying: "From my childhood onward I was always nourished on battle and bore all of my wounds with great bravery. Why was I unable to die in battle, but rather am dying the way an animal dies? For it would have been better if I [g259] had died fighting for the land so that neither the churches nor the covenant of God be trampled underfoot. However I did not manage to die for the Arsacids, the native lords of the land, for our women and children, for the pious people, for the brotherhood of comrades and intimate friends. Though I deported myself boldly, a bad death comes to me in my bed."

[Manuel] said this and much more in the same vein in the presence of king Arshak and everyone. He beseeched king Arshak further, saying: "I lived through God and devout Christianity. Let no one hopelessly lament and mourn excessively for me, contrary to the rule, as a pagan. For those who have faith in resurrection, a second life, and the coming of Christ should not weep. Thus far I have lived with the [283] expectation of piety. Do not stray from God's commandments. Be more concerned with righteousness and

mercy, for the great patriarch Nerses was always urging us to do this. Every hour of his life he himself behaved so, and taught others the same. He had mercy on the poor, the indigent, captives, the devastated, foreigners and exiles, saying: 'There is nothing greater and more honorable before God than dispensing alms or giving gifts.' He regarded it a bitter sin to lament or mourn excessively for the dead. During his day he had stopped this [practise] in the country of Armenia, and no one dared to do it. But after his death, stupid people dared to do it. Now let no one mourn me excessively, otherwise he will be condemnable. After my death I lack the authority to punish those who do as I do not want. Let those who love me remember me. In warfare—where I did not die—do not fear death. For without God there is nothing."

[Manuel] said this and other similar things. With his own [g260] hands he distributed an incalculable amount of treasure to the poor and the needy. He gave many parts of his belongings to the Church and the martyria, and much treasure to the chief priests. Then he died. Now when the great *sparapet* Manuel died, no one heeded the order he had given about not mourning excessively. On the contrary, everyone in the country of Armenia, *azats* and *shinakans* alike mourned excessively [284] with great weeping and lamentation. For everyone regarded the well-formed constructive Manuel as a father because of his goodness, humanity, mildness, tranquility and concerned benevolence. With their mouths open, everyone wailed and sighed longingly for their brave general, their savior, their victorious, renowned, productive [*sparapet*], who had gone and been separated from them [g261]. [285]

Sixth Book

Ending

1.

How the land of Armenia was divided in two, with half the Armenian people being ruled by Arshak at the order of the Byzantine emperor, and half the people being ruled by Xosrov at the order of the Iranian king. And how, after the land of Armenia was divided into two parts, they set a boundary between them; how other lands and districts were separated and their territories diminished on all sides by the two [foreign powers].

After the death of Manuel, Armenia's general, no one was able to establish the reign of Arshak over the land. Rather, many of the Armenian *naxarars* went in a body to the king of Iran to whom they betrayed the land of Armenia. They requested from him an Arsacid king. With great delight [the Iranian king] consented [to find a candidate] from the same Arsacid *tohms* as the Armenian kingdom, and through him he would get hold of the land of Armenia. He found a youth named Xosrov, from that same *tohms*, put the crown on his head, and married him to his sister Zruanduxt. [The Iranian king] also sent all the forces at his disposal along with king Xosrov [265] and gave him the nuncio Zik as a tutor. They arrived in the land of Armenia. When king Arshak saw them, he gave way and departed, going to the Byzantine border. [The Byzantines] supported Arshak [as] king of Armenia, while the Iranian king supported Xosrov.

Then the troops of the Byzantine emperor came to help. King Arshak was in the vicinity of Ekegheac' district, while the Iranian troops and king Xosrov were in Ayrarat district. Emissaries and [286] messengers of the two

kings, Byzantine and Iranian, were going back and forth to each other. Then the two kings decided upon peace. They thought it would be a good thing first to divide the land of Armenia into two parts, between themselves, saying: "It would be good to try to obstruct and destroy this mighty and wealthy kingdom which is in our midst. First we divide it into two, under two Arsacid kings whom we installed. Later through them we shall try to destroy and impoverish [the Armenians] and put them into service so that they will be unable to raise their heads between us."

They confirmed this plan, and divided the land into two. The Iranian sector went to king Xosrov, while the Byzantine sector went to king Arshak. But there were many districts which had been shorn away here and there and only a small part of the lands remained to the two kings. Nonetheless, between the few remaining districts ruled by the two Arsacid kings, Arshak and Xosrov, they established borders peaceably, while each of them was obedient to his own monarch. Xosrov's sector was larger than Arshak's. But many districts had been cut away from both of them and the greatness of the Armenian kingdom waned then and subsequently [g266]. [287]

2.

Concerning the bishops who were noteworthy in that period in the portion of the country of the Armenians ruled by Xosrov; first, about the behavior of Zawen.

Zawen was a descendant of the celebrated bishop Aghbianos from Manazkert village. He was a man with a wicked, severe and jealous nature. The innovation of his time was that he taught all the priests to dress as the soldiers did. They had forsaken the religion of the Apostolic churches and began to behave as they pleased. For the priests did not wear a long robe descending to the heels, as is proper for clerics, rather, they started wearing a tunic that went only to the knees. They decorated their clothing with various ribbons, and strutted about in a way that was unbecoming. The priests were indiscriminately wearing the skins of animals, which was not becoming. Zawen himself wore ornate clothing adorned with ribbons and embroidery, a sable, an ermine, and wolf-skin. He even sat on the *bema* wearing fox-skin. Zawen passed all the days of his life in gluttony and licentiousness. He held the position for three years.

3.

Regarding Shahak of Korchek' who became head of the bishops after Zawen.

Then after Zawen's death Shahak Korchek' became head of the bishops for two years. He was a Christian man, but in no way altered [288] Zawen's arrangements. He led for two years and died [g267].

4.

Regarding Aspurak of Manazkert, who became head of the bishops after Shahak.

After the death of bishop Shahak, a certain Aspurak, a descendant of bishop Aghbianos, became head of the bishops. He was Christ-minded, pious and righteous, and led Xosrov's court. But he followed the arrangements of Zawen concerning religious clothing.

5.

Concerning the bishops P'awstos and Zort'.

In this period [there lived] bishop P'awstos who, in the time of the archbishop Nerses, had been a manager in his house. Similarly the advisor Zort' was with them, for there were in the patriarch's house, under his disposition twelve bishops, his coadjutors, colleagues and advisors, to say nothing of all the bishops from the other districts who were under him. These two were of those twelve bishops. They were in charge of the believing poor. In [Nerses'] day they were trusted by him in everything and were still alive during the years of the two divided kings Xosrov and Arshak. [289]

6.

Concerning Arhostom, brother of bishop P'awstos.

Bishop P'awstos had a brother, a marvellous, religious cenobite of the mountain retreats [g268]. Both of them were of Roman [Greek] nationality. All the days of his life this man wandered about with great piety. He dwelled in the Arayratean district and acted in accordance with the Holy Spirit. Until the day of his repose, he wandered the wildernesses as a vegetarian in the mountains, wearing skins. Then he died. They brought his body from the wilderness and buried it at the *bun* village of the patriarch Nerses, at a place called Amok'. Every year they commemorated [his death].

7.

About Artit', bishop of Basen.

In that period, among the prominent bishops, was Artit', bishop of Basen, who was a venerable and useful old man. He behaved with sanctity and righteousness, as though worthy of the Holy Spirit. He travelled around with great power for many years accomplishing very great miracles. [Artit'] had been a student of the great Daniel who lived in the years of king Tiran. He was still alive during the years of Xosrov and Arshak, the two kings of Armenia.

8.

Regarding bishop Yohan and his deportment, greed, stupidity, senseless words and deeds; and how, in return for wealth, he took on himself [responsibility] for the sins they had committed.

There was also a bishop Yohan, son of the former patriarch P'arhen—if, indeed, it is proper to style him a bishop. He was a [290] hypocritical man who passed himself off as a faster and wearer of sack-cloth, never wearing shoes, though wrapping [his feet] in grass in summertime and with woven material in wintertime. His greed had no limits but he could [g269] not replace piety for God with greed. He did unworthy and unbelievable things.

One day he happened to be travelling a certain road seated on a pack animal. He encountered an unknown lay youth mounted on a horse, sword at his waist, knife in his belt, and bow and quiver on his back. He had washed, annointed, arranged and put an ornament in his hair, and thrown a cape over his shoulders. He was riding along the road, perhaps returning from some brigandage. As for the horse he was astride, it was large, colored and swift, so much so that when bishop Yohan saw the horse he was astonished and he wanted it. When the horseman approached the place where Yohan was waiting, [Yohan] grabbed hold of the horse's

bridle, saying: "Get off the horse at once, for I have something to tell you." The man replied: "Since you do not know me, and I do not know you, what could you have to say to me?" The man happened to be drunk, and greatly resisted dismounting. But Yohan forcibly made him dismount. He took him away from the road, ordered the man to kneel, and said: "I am ordaining you a priest." The man replied: "I am a brigand, murderer, malefactor [291] and libertine, have been from my childhood onward, and am still engaged in such things. I am unworthy of such [an office]." The man greatly argued and resisted, but [Yohan] was even more persistent. Finally Yohan forced the man to the ground, placed his hand on him (making him a priest), ordered him to rise, to undo the ties on his cloak, and put on a priest's frock. Then [Yohan] said: "Go to your village and be the priest of the village whence you come." But he did not even know which village the man was from. Yohan seized hold of the horse and said: "This [horse] will be my gift, for making you a priest." But the man resisted handing over the horse. Finally [Yohan] forcibly got hold of the horse and sent the man off. All of this happened because of a horse [g270].

The man who had unwillingly donned the cleric's frock went to his *tun* and entered the midst of his family. He said to his wife and family: "Arise and pray." They replied: "Are you crazy, has a *dew* possessed you?" But he said: "Arise and pray, for I am a priest." They were astonished, sometimes reddening, sometimes laughing. After refusing many times, they finally agreed to pray with him. But the woman said to her husband: "When you were a child you were not baptized." The man replied to her: "I was in a state of [292] shock and did not recall that, and I forgot to tell him. He made me a priest and took my horse, saddle and bridle and left." The man's family said to him: "Get up, go back to the bishop and tell him 'I am not baptized. Why did you make me a priest?'" He arose and went to the bishop with that question. But Yohan said to him: "Bring a pitcher of water." Taking the water he poured it on the man's head, saying: "I have baptized you. Go." Thus he quickly got rid of him.

9.

More about this same Yohan.

Once Yohan was passing by some vineyard during pruning time. A man in the vineyard cried out to him: "Lord bishop, bless us and the vineyard." Yohan replied: "May thorns and thistles grow." The man said: "May thorns and thistles grow on your body for unjustly cursing us." A sign from God took place. For as soon as the bishop reached his dwelling place, torments were visited on him. [Protuberances] resembling thorns appeared on all the limbs of his body. He was in great, wicked torment and crisis for many days. Finally he summoned the vineyard-worker and begged him to pray over him, to save him from the pains. The vineyard-worker said: "Who am I to be [293] able to bless or curse anyone, to say nothing of a bishop" [g271]? But [Yohan] pressured the vineyard-worker until he got up and prayed, saying: "Lord God, you know that I am a sinful and unworthy man and I do not understand the confusion I am involved in. Save me from evil, for they say: 'You cursed the bishop and this happened because of you.' It would be good if I died, for I do not understand what they say about me." When he had said this, the bishop was healed. The thorns, which resembled grass thorns, began to fall off his entire body. He was immediately cured of the disease.

10.

More about Yohan.

This bishop Yohan, P'arhen's son, when he went to the king(s) of Armenia, would entertain them by being a buffoon for them. Through this clowning he exercised the greed for which he had an insatiable appetite, and he used [the buffoonery] to serve his own ends. He would go on all fours in front of the kings and imitate a camel, making a camel's bleating sound. While doing this he would exclaim: "I am a camel, a camel, and I will

bear the king's sins. [294] King, load your sins upon me, and I will carry them." But the kings, instead of giving their sins, would put on Yovan's back written and sealed deeds for villages or fields. So Yohan got villages and fields for imitating a camel, and all the daye of his life he did such unworthy deeds because of his greed and avarice [g272].

11.

Regarding bishop Kirakos.

There was a bishop of Tayk' named Kirakos, called Shahap, who was an honest pious man [acting] in accordance with God's wishes. He led his people with complete honesty and throughout his life he conducted the episcopacy in accordance with God's will.

12.

Concerning Zort'uaz, bishop of the district of Vanand.

There was Zort'uaz, bishop of the district of Vanand, a blessed, modest man worthy of God who drank of the Holy Spirit. He worked and led his people in a Christian manner as God wanted.

13.

About Tirik and Movses, bishops of the district of Basen.

There were two bishops of the district of Basen, Movses and Tirik. They were good men of angelic religion, blessed, believing, [295] and worthy of the [clerical] calling. Each of them led his people on the path of God all the days of his life [g273].

14.

About the bishop of Arsharunik'.

In that period lived bishop Aharon, in the midst of the land of Armenia. He was a prominent, renowned, and very virtuous man who, throughout his life, led his people in an enlightened manner.

15.

Concerning Aspurak, chief of the bishops.

The chief of the Armenian bishops was Aspurak, a blessed and devout person, pious toward God and mankind. But he was unable to reproach anyone, though he himself dwelled in silence, modesty, sensitivity, and propriety, beseeching God with fasts and prayers every hour. But as regards clothing, he followed Zawen's example. He wore laced and embroidered [garments]. Nonetheless, all the days of his life he was mild, humble, benevolent, and humane.

16.

About the blessed and virtuous Gind who in that period was head of the Armenian monks, cenobites, and solitary [religious] communities.

Gind was from the district of Taron and had been a student of the great Daniel. After [Daniel, Gind] became the head of the monastics, [296] the *vardapet* of cenobites and those leading solitary lives, supervisor of the monks and teacher of all those dwelling in retreats. He was the overseer of everyone who, for the love of God, had resigned from the world and were living in retreats [g274], secure caves and crannies—people possessing but one garment who went barefoot, eating roots and vegetables, who wandered about like beasts in the mountains wearing hides and goat-skins, the oppressed, downtrodden, doubtful, crazed in the wilderness [who roamed] in cold and heat, in hunger and thirst, for the love of God.

With patience did they do such things all the days of their lives. For, as was written, the land did not deserve them. Resembling a flock of birds, they dwelled in the crevices of rocks and in caves, having no belongings and never giving their bodies victuals. Their native (*bun*) head was saint Gind, for everyone in the country of Armenia called him *vardapet*. There were, however, other students of [these clerics] who resembled their *vardapet*. They were Vach'ak, Artoyt, Marax and Trdat, who was their comrade and had been the chief deacon under the great chief priest Nerses, though after Nerses' death he had entered the ranks of the aforementioned *vardapets* of the retreats. [297] The blessed Gind took the youth Mushe as his student and taught him his ways. But he had many other students of angelic faith whose deeds no one could relate.

Saint Gind was full of the Spirit of God. Those with him, resembling him, performed very great miracles and healings in the name of Lord Jesus Christ. They circulated around many pagan places and among the pagans here and there, turning many away from error, leading many people to a knowledge of Life and to the road of Truth. The blessed Gind filled all the retreats with cenobites and all the *shens* with monasteries. He set up many correct arrangements for human living in the land, conforming with divine religion. He chose the wilderness for his dwelling and lived where the sources of the Euphrates river flow forth. There the [g275] blessed Gind—that great man among the desert-dwellers—resided in the very same cave as the great Gregory [the Illuminator], at the place called Oskik'. The blessed Mushe was always with him. Others circulated around other districts, by order of their chief, Gind. The blessed Trdat lived in the district of Taron, where he built his retreats [g276].

Some Additional Resources for the 4th-5th centuries

Internet Archive:

[Texts and Studies of P'awstos](#)

[Parthia/Parthians](#)

[Arsacids/Arshakunis](#)

[Sasanians/Sasanids](#)

[The 4th through 6th Centuries](#), from the *Chronicle* of Michael Rabo [Michael the Syrian].

[Syriac Sources](#) (various periods and topics), including historical material.

[Syriac Chronicles and Historiography](#) (various periods and topics), at syri.ac

Fordham University:

[Byzantine Sources](#) (various periods and topics), prepared by Paul Halsall.

Wikipedia:

[4th Century](#).

[5th Century](#).

[6th Century](#).

[Trade and Trade Centres in Armenia in the Roman-Parthian and the Byzantine-Sasanid Periods](#), by Hagop Manandian, at Internet Archive.

Encyclopaedia Iranica:

[Arsacids](#), multiple topics by multiple authors including Cyril Toumanoff, Mary Boyce, and others.

[Sasanian Dynasty](#), by A. Shapur Shahbazi.

[Articles on Armenia](#). Numerous articles by multiple authors.

[Arsacids/Parthians and Sasanian entries](#), from *Selected Topics in Ancient and Medieval Iranian History*, compiled by Robert Bedrosian.

Maps, at Google Images:

[Armenia in the 3rd-4th Centuries](#).

[Armenia in the 4th-6th Centuries](#).

Maps, by Robert H. Hewsen, from *Armenia: A Historical Atlas* (Chicago, 2001), at Internet Archive:

[Arsacid \(Arshakuni\) Armenia 3rd-4th Centuries](#), 63-299.

[Armenia as known to the Romans](#) 63-299.

[Armenia in the 4th Century](#), 299-387.

[Armenian Principalities in the 4th Century](#).

[The First Byzantine Expansion into Armenia](#), 387-591.

Chronological Tables, prepared by Robert Bedrosian, at Internet Archive:

[Armenia and Neighbors](#).